

America

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JUNE 5, 1948

CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK



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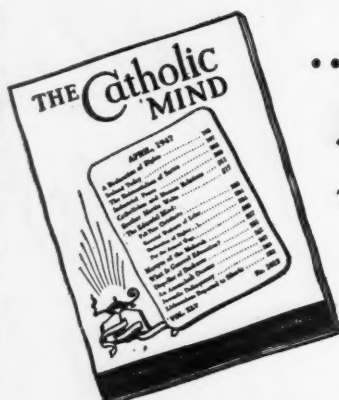
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Italy's new cabinet

The first practical political steps in Italy after the elections that set the Communists back on their heels give evidence that the Government, and particularly Premier de Gasperi, were not merely mouthing platform promises when they declared that social reform was their primary goal. In the cabinet formed by de Gasperi on May 23 and sworn in by President Einaudi the following day are three Ministers whose appointment shows a sense of realism in grappling with reform. Two of the Ministers are without portfolio, whose duties will be to watch over the application of the Marshall Plan. Perhaps even more significant was the appointment of a special Vice Premier who will handle all problems relating to Southern Italy. It is that section of the country where extreme poverty, poor land use, illiteracy and other social abuses are most deep-seated, as anybody who has read Carlo Levi's *Christ Stopped at Eboli* will have realized vividly. As might have been expected, the extreme Left-wing and Right-wing press have already expressed dissatisfaction with the new cabinet; that in itself is presumptive evidence that it is a good cabinet, though, naturally, time and the actuality of reform will be the only ultimate proof. But it is heartening to see this initial realization that although the Communists have been for the time defeated, the country has still to be saved. De Gasperi obviously knows what many an American liberal (and shall we whisper, many an American Catholic?) does not: that it is not enough to be *against* communism; one must be *for* something, and the thing to be for most is a positive Christian social program.

GM breaks the jam

When good things come unexpectedly, they are doubly welcome. Such was our first reaction to the news on May 25 that General Motors had broken the seemingly solid front of basic industry against a third-round wage increase. The pressure on the rest of the automobile industry to go and do likewise—and on steel, rubber, electrical parts, too—now becomes almost irresistible, since the needs of GM employes are typical of the needs of workers generally, and for the most part other corporations are also able to pay. The prospects for industrial peace are thus immeasurably improved. As for the settlement itself, the terms respecting wages are so unprecedented in the auto industry that nothing more than a provisional estimate can be hazarded at this time. The contract, which runs two years, calls for a cost-of-living adjustment, amounting to eight cents an hour, and an "improvement factor," which is set at three cents an hour annually. The improvement factor becomes a permanent addition to the basic wage rate; the cost-of-living adjustment varies with the fluctuations of the consumer price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, except that

for the life of the contract the downward adjustment cannot be more than five cents. According to the text of the agreement, the purpose of this fresh approach to wages is "to promote prosperity and stability and protect and improve the standard of living of General Motors employes." This objective is admirable, from a moral as well as an economic standpoint, and if the formulas agreed on should achieve it, then the new contract may well be, as the signatories hopefully describe it, "an important step forward in industry-labor relations." Since the success of the scheme partly depends on price policies, the public will watch anxiously to see whether GM passes along the added wage costs to its customers or absorbs them. In view of present and prospective profits—first quarter earnings were fifty-three per cent over the first quarter of 1947, and profits after taxes last year, not counting \$22,300,000 set aside in a special depreciation reserve fund and \$29,100,000 allocated to bonuses for executives, amounted to \$288,000,000—it would appear that GM can absorb the added costs, estimated at \$75,000,000, and still earn better than twenty per cent on invested capital.

Whither our Palestine policy?

"Too many strings pulling in too many opposite directions," was the comment offered last week by a veteran UN observer in explanation of the erratic course pursued by the United States, in and out of UN, on the Palestine issue. The sudden recognition of Israel while the U.S. delegation was still formally pushing its proposals for a trusteeship has now been paralleled by the reported promise made by President Truman to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the newly recognized Israel, of a loan of \$100,000,000 for general purposes, including military supplies, while the Security Council was awaiting action on a "cease-fire" order. The hard-headed members of the three-Power Truce Commission in Jerusalem made the only realistic proposal to date when they reported to the Council that "a neutral force sufficiently large and powerful" to enforce its will on both parties was the only effective step that could be taken. But the man who signed that report, U.S. Consul General Thomas G. Wason, was dead a few hours later, as well as one of his Navy communications technicians, both felled by snipers' bullets; and no one seems ready to carry the recommendation any farther. Our Ambassador at Cairo, S. P. Tuck, resigned, he says, for "personal reasons." But inasmuch as it is common knowledge that the U.S. diplomatic service in the Middle East is agast at our ineptitude thus far, it can be conjectured that his personal reasons were total lack of sympathy with the Truman policy. And correspondents from Europe now report that Russia may be succeeding beyond expectations in splitting Britain and America over the issue of Palestine, which is now

rapidly taking on proportions that did not exist at the outset. While the President has his reasons for the recognition of Israel and the lifting of the embargo, the manner of doing these things has led to confusion in the public mind. Better coordination between the President and his representatives, and a clearer presentation of our diplomacy to the people could avert such a state of confusion in the future.

Dark days for labor

With the reactionary tide still flowing strongly, labor conventions these days are rather grim affairs. All the fine enthusiasm over prospects for the postwar era, so noticeable several years ago, has largely disappeared, chilled by the hard realities of the Taft-Hartley Act and the growing toughness of employers. What makes the situation so discouraging is the seeming impossibility of doing anything about it. Last year there was a good deal of militant talk about driving reactionaries from Washington, but the angry shouts have died to whispers. Circumstances have conspired to defeat the ambitious plans for political action which all sections of labor had formulated. Even if the leaders were so disposed, it is simply impossible to summon the rank and file to a crusade for President Truman. And even if the leaders did have a candidate according to their hearts' desire, it is doubtful whether they could effectively mobilize the labor vote, as they did in 1944. Thanks to the rugged individualism of John L. Lewis, and even more to the machinations of the Kremlin, the American labor movement is too seriously divided today to cause the politicians any worry. At their convention in Atlantic City, the Fur Workers re-elected communist Ben Gold as president and went right down the Party line, which on the Marshall Plan and Henry Wallace is an anti-CIO line. The United Public Workers, while somewhat more circumspect in the face of growing congressional hostility, gave no comfort to national CIO leadership. Another indication of the bitterness between Communists and non-Communists in the CIO was the decision of the Steelworkers Convention at Boston to bar Communists from office. Such being the state of affairs, many labor leaders are resigned to riding out the storm as best they can. Some of the more far-sighted, however, knowing the uses of adversity, are already looking ahead to the time when the unions, purified and strengthened by suffering, will do a better job for the workers than they ever did before. After all, opposition and setbacks are old stories in the long and highly chequered history of American labor.

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Chiang plans reforms for China

Chiang Kai-shek, as China's new President, has taken a most important step in announcing his social program, aimed at a substantial change in the country's fundamental policy; and the program is reported as having the backing of the entire Kuomintang. After taking the oath of office as China's first constitutional President, the Generalissimo, in an inaugural address, outlined his objectives of "comprehensive political, economic and social reforms." High on the list are changes in the organization of the entire state administration, equalization of land ownership and elimination of corrupt elements from government posts. These reforms, said Chiang, are prerequisites to the total defeat of communism in China. Admitting that the Government faced a number of "political and social shortcomings," President Chiang promised swift enactment of new reforms according to constitutional process, and enumerated several suggestions for reconstruction of the country's economic and social system. The major portion of Chiang's speech was devoted to reform of land policy—one of China's weakest points and a powerful weapon in the hands of communist agitators. He further pledged himself to a continued fight against the Communists, whom he denounced as "totalitarian" and who must, he said, be eradicated as obstacles to unity, liberty and progress. Another important act of China's President was the appointment of Dr. Wong Wen-hao as Premier. Dr. Wong is a noted geologist and chairman of the National Resources Commission. Although known for his cooperation with Kuomintang moderates, Dr. Wong is not identified with Nationalist Party policies. He is regarded primarily as a scholar, an able administrator and honest public servant. All these seem to augur a better future for the long-suffering Chinese people.

Attack on acreage limitations

Social-minded Californians are rightly incensed over the latest attempts to undermine the acreage restrictions of the Reclamation Act. The law provides that irrigation water may not be supplied from the Federal projects for more than 160 acres. Big growers do not like that. For several years now, they have found congressional opponents of Reclamation Bureau land policy to carry on the fight in the House and Senate. In 1947, they failed to get the acreage limitation removed. Subsequently, Senator Sheridan Downey of California compiled a book on the subject. This privately printed work contains a number of intemperate attacks upon defenders of the acreage-limitation principle, and upon the Reclamation Bureau. It is a handbook for the opposition, which overlooks the dangerous social implications of large-scale land-holdings in the irrigated sections of California, particularly the Central Valley. But, so far, those adhering to traditional American land policy—in disapproval of the latifundia-type of operation—have rallied support, and to spare, for the limitation provisions. Right now a different strategy is being employed. Having failed to get rid of the restrictions on their growing monopolies, the big farmers hope to remove the Reclamation Bureau administrators who defend and en-

force the existing law. The attack is bitter—consult the record—and gets right down to personalities. Reclamation Regional Director Boke and Reclamation Commissioner Straus are the immediate targets. It is stressed that Mr. Boke has no engineering background, and should therefore not be administering the projects. Accordingly a rider was attached to the reclamation appropriations bill which would have the effect of getting rid of the “undesirables” and replacing them by docile engineers. These latter would presumably be more preoccupied with techniques than with social objectives—so the big growers seem to think. But Congressman Ben F. Jensen, known for his constructive views on land policy, happens to be chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations to the Interior Department. Congressmen will, we hope, be alerted to the technique that is being tried. If the big growers of California have their way, the whole country stands to lose.

Uncelibate spirituality

Had the directors of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae heard the complaint that the clergy tend to speak a kind of “celibate spirituality” when talking about marriage and family living? That peril was neatly escaped in selecting speakers for a recent forum of the New York Chapter on the topic, “Can Marriage Work?” An astonishingly youthful looking grandmother and a young father of a large and growing family offered evidence that it can and does. On what grounds? Mutual respect that shows itself in regular family conferences; reverence for God, acknowledged in weekly family Communion; an abiding realization that marriage is part of the divine-human work of redemption; and that parents, as co-creators with God, have a task of honor and dignity. Such were the suggestions of Mrs. Frank L. Markey. It is imperative to talk about spiritual factors, not by way of excuse but of explanation, Charles S. Horgan asserted. Difficulties abound in family living today; they cannot be surmounted without “a sacrifice on our part to acknowledge to God our appreciation of His sacrifice of Himself.” Emphasis on the importance of a sense of vocation; insistence that love of God is proved by an unselfish love of wife and children, which, by exercise, enlarges one’s capacity to love—these were products of the speaker’s empirical knowledge of how to be happy though married. The themes seemed completely familiar; the spiritual values were identical with those recommended by celibates who, after all, represent the ancient wisdom of her who is at once mother and spouse, the Church.

Western European union

The case for a federated Western Europe as a complement of ERP is succinctly stated by Leopold Klausner, former Director-General of the Pan-European Union, writing in *People and Freedom*, London organ of Christian Democracy, for April, 1948. Dollars are necessary, says Mr. Klausner, in order to put Western Europe on its feet again, but federation is “ten times as necessary; without it Europe cannot become a going concern.” And he insists:

The sixteen nations of Western Europe must close themselves together into a federal union based upon political equality, collective security and a customs union of a common market of more than 200 million people, or they will fall back again into misery as soon as the days of American aid are over, and one by one they will become victims of Soviet aggression, just as surely as night follows day.

What is particularly striking about the rapidly growing popularity of the federalist idea among great political leaders (Churchill, Smuts, De Gasperi and the Christian Democrats) and among the masses of the people (cf. the recent *Time* magazine poll in five Western European countries) is the fact that not dictatorship with its centralized might, but federation, with its principle of delegated powers and divided sovereignty, is seen as the strongest answer to Soviet totalitarian aggression. At a recent Christian Action meeting in Albert Hall, London (according to CIP), presided over by Cardinal Griffin, the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Free Church Council, Herr Karl Arnold, Prime Minister of Northern Rhineland-Westphalia, spoke of the security of the “close-knit freedom of a European family,” and declared his faith in the “renaissance of the West.” Plans for a “German Federal Republic” have recently been discussed by leaders from the American and French zones, meeting at Ellwangen, in Germany. Towards any working European union the path is steep and difficult; for it can only be built from below by grappling sturdily with deep-rooted national and economic rivalries. But the idea is steadily taking shape as a prerequisite of economic security and political freedom. How far it can be realized depends upon our cooperation here in the United States.

Critical food situation in Germany

The critical German food situation is set forth in a comprehensive pamphlet, *No Reconstruction Without Food*, recently published by Common Cause, Inc. (48 E. 48th St., NYC). Prefaced by such an internationally known authority on food relief as former President Herbert Hoover, the pamphlet thoroughly reviews, for the first time, recurring famine conditions since Hitler’s fall three years ago. It is based mainly on statements of American and British officials, relief experts, qualified newsmen and others. The German diet has been far below the pitifully insufficient official ration of 1,550 calories throughout most of the postwar period. The cumulative effect is now becoming evident in increasing disease, a high mortality rate and incapacity to work. That continuation of such a diet will aggravate the disastrous economic chaos seems a foregone conclusion. Furthermore, if the United States is to make Western Germany a self-supporting country, it should insist upon the cessation of further dismantling of German peacetime industry. It must prevent any agreement on the Ruhr which would deprive Germany of needed economic assets. Finally, it appears necessary that relief appropriations for Germany be increased so that the country may be strong enough economically to play its part in the general rehabilitation and reconstruction of Western Europe.

Protestant ministers in public schools

An April 24 editorial of ours, "Protestant ministers in public schools," was reproduced in the Baptist newssheet, *Report from the Capital*, with an answer. Our editorial had suggested it might be wise for Catholics to challenge the sincerity of Protestant efforts to ban nuns from teaching in public schools. If nuns are to be barred, so, too, should the far greater number of Protestant ministers, who are not only teaching but pretty well controlling policy in public schools. *Report from the Capital* doesn't deny that lots of ministers are teaching in public schools, and maintains that neither nuns nor ministers should be barred because of their religion. But nuns should be barred for other reasons! "There is a real difference, however, between the nuns and the preachers" For:

1. The preachers do not insist on wearing a distinctive garb, a symbol of their sectarian faith, which exerts a silent influence on immature minds.

As if a nun's garb were more potent in its proselytizing effect than the purposefulness of a professional Protestant preacher in the classroom!

2. The preachers do not enter the public schools under a prior solemn oath to their churches that they will always teach their sectarian faith.

3. The preachers do not enter upon their duties in public schools under oath that they will individually accept no salary but instruct their salaries to be paid over collectively to their churches, thus escaping the payment of income tax as well as delivering tax monies to sectarian institutions, as has been done by nuns.

4. The preachers do not—certainly not as once challenged was true in the case of the New Mexico schools now under fire—try to change the public schools in which they teach into parochial schools to be administered by their churches while continuing to be maintained by public taxes.

Reason two is specious; the solemn oath is a myth. Anybody knows that, nun or preacher, what we believe, the loyalties to which we hold, are reflected in our teaching. Reason three was appealed to during the late war to prevent the Army and Navy from paying salaries to religious men teaching draftees in Catholic colleges. The Army and Navy rejected it as unsound and unjust. Reason four, with its innuendo from an unproved and trumped-up charge, is a gratuitous impertinence. Baptist J. M. Dawson of Protestants United and *Report from the Capital* must think up a better answer. Right now we are more than ever suspicious of Protestant sincerity on the issue of nuns teaching in public schools.

Scuttling foreign economic policy

Irresponsible is the word for the exhibition of economic isolationism put on by House Republicans in the vote for their emasculated version of a reciprocal trade agreements act. The President asked for a three-year extension of existing legislation. He got one year, with crippling amendments certain to weaken U.S. bargaining power in international economic circles. Senate leaders, it is hoped, will have the vision not to endorse this new upsurge of protectionism. In the Republican version of the bill, voted by the House 234 to 149 on May 26, the Tariff Com-

mission receives an authority of review which ties the hands of the President in the matter of trade agreements, except after what may be months of waiting. Commitments regarding disputed items, which he might make in the meantime, would not be taken seriously by any who have studied the record of earlier Congresses on tariff log-rolling. Unlike the senatorial review of treaties—which is a measure of prudence traditionally endorsed by Americans—the procedure in the new reciprocal trade agreements bill is merely a lever for special interest groups. These will find sponsors to block economic agreements conducive to the public welfare, which, without special pressures, would find general support. In introducing this measure, the majority leadership has much to be ashamed of. Open committee hearings, in which advocates of reciprocal trade could freely express themselves, were set aside. Then the bill was given a "gag" rule, limiting debate and preventing amendment from the floor—on an issue of grave international import. Does it mean abandonment of a constructive foreign economic policy? The blunt "take it or leave it" form in which the bill was presented indicates a lack of courage and of readiness to admit that public opinion is strongly behind the reciprocal trade program.

Nuremberg jurist returns

The man who at Nuremberg presided over the "greatest murder trial in history" told reporters last week that "when the full story of the Nuremberg trials is told, every American will be proud of this great undertaking in behalf of international morality and responsibility." He was Michael Angelo Musmanno, in civilian life a Pittsburgh jurist well known as judge of the Allegheny County Court of Common Pleas. A month ago he passed sentence of death upon fourteen members of the notorious liquidation squads, known as the *Einsatzgruppen*, to whom is ascribed the war-time murder of two million Jews, Russians and Poles. "No longer," said Judge Musmanno, "can any individual or group of individuals commit mass murder and expect exoneration on the argument of national necessity." In the Judges's view the trials were not conducted on an *ex post facto* legal basis, since Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt made it clear that the United States viewed vicious acts against individuals, whether American nationals or not, as its concern and as causes for either diplomatic or military action. The newly returned jurist did not apparently give the interviewing reporters the benefit of his comments on the charges of another returning Nuremberg judge, Charles F. Wennerstrum of the Iowa Supreme Court, who charged that illegality and partiality dominated the atmosphere of the war-crimes tribunal. Thus the great debate on an international criminal law, the general elements of which were outlined for AMERICA's readers in our issue of November 6, 1946, continues to gather momentum. Only the passing of time, bringing with it clearer thinking and calmer judgment, will tell us how much at Nuremberg was the vindictiveness of the victors and how much of it was honestly based, implicitly at least, on a higher law binding on nations before man-made law.

Washington Front

Caught in the log jam of which I spoke last week was also the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. It was, in fact, caught in worse than that. It passed the Senate, and for some weeks has been reposing in the House Banking Committee. Hearings were held on it before that committee, and the proponents of the bill were willing to forego their say in order to hasten things a bit. But the chairman, Representative Wolcott, was obdurate and persisted in long-drawn-out sessions..

It was an open secret in Washington that enough votes existed in the House committee to report the bill out, but blame is put on the chairman for the delay. It is also no secret that one of the most powerful lobbies, the real-estate lobby, is the big obstacle in the way of a successful conclusion to this most necessary piece of legislation. This is one of the things that nearly everybody wants but can't get because of a few.

Both the politicians and the real-estate people are in a peculiar position. The real-estate people want all of the bill except Title VI, which has to do with low-cost housing; but they would rather see the bill killed than have that in it. The politicians, on the other hand, can afford to have almost everything else in it go overboard except Title VI. Senator Taft has to have that piece of liberal

legislation to his name if he is candidate for President. So, for that matter, do all Republicans, no matter who is candidate. They are faced with a group that will cut off its nose to spite its face.

Curiously enough, all parties seem to be living in another age than ours. The housing industry (if one can call it that) is based on the old theory that it prospers when the demand for new homes is relatively small and it can keep the supply even smaller. That theory has no connection with present realities. The demand is enormous, far beyond the capacity of private industry to meet for many years, if ever. Hence the old jealousy of government competition is out of date.

It is true that government-built houses for low-income families will upset a part of the traditional pattern, which was to build for the high-income families and move several low-income families into a property formerly occupied by only one family. It has been said by experts that real-estate owners make more money on slum properties than they do on high-class ones.

But people have become more enlightened about housing than they were a generation ago. There are certain standards of space, light, electric light and refrigeration that health experts now know are essential to proper housing. These standards, it has become very clear, cannot be met by private industry—even if private industry wanted to meet them, which it does not—as long as it continues to cling to its antiquated notions.

WILFRID PARSONS

Under Scorings

June is Commencement month. Thousands and thousands in cap and gown, and the future before them! "An Open Letter to High-School Graduates," by Patricia MacGill in CISC's *Today*, May 15 issue, tells the dear graduate:

You will undoubtedly be told that you are the salt of the earth, the leaven in the lump, the city seated on a mountain, a light in the darkness.

The important thing is that you *are* all these things, and that for the most part you don't seem to realize it. . . If you are not the hope of the world, who is? If you do not hold the keys to the future, who will unlock it? Into whose irresponsible hands will those keys fall? If the eyes of men are not upon you, where will they be? If you do not build a brave new world, a world will be built, indeed, but it will not be brave nor will it be new. It will be fashioned of the old, old sins and mistakes. . . If you know that there is a world to be saved, you cannot graduate as a Catholic from a Catholic school and step into an unimportant, secure little job as someone's secretary or someone's copywriter.

► John J. O'Connor, the "Washington Reporter" for the *Interracial Review*, has this genial suggestion in his April column:

An immense amount of good could be accomplished by establishing college scholarships for qualified col-

ored students. Let us assume that the cost of one scholarship for one year would be \$500, plus incidental fees for library, athletic and similar activities. One member of our Council would find it difficult to dig up \$500, but suppose ten members contributed five dollars a month to a Negro scholarship fund? This would amount to \$600 a year and at least one colored youth would be receiving Catholic training in a local college or university. Certainly in the wealthy city of the richest nation on earth it should be possible to find ten zealous Catholics who would be willing to contribute five dollars a month to help an underprivileged boy or girl.

► So many institutes in connection with Catholic summer schools are scheduled this year that only those which appear to break new ground can be noticed here: 1) Loretto Heights College, Denver, is sponsoring a Workshop for the Administrators of Catholic Women's Colleges, August 25-31; 2) Boston College will run a Social Worship Program in three parts: the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ; the Encyclical, *Mediator Dei*; Social Worship in Practice; 3) Catholic University will have a "first": an institute for preparing teachers for the deaf and hard of hearing; 4) St. Louis University's Institute on Cooperatives will be conducted by Msgr. M. M. Coady of Antigonish; 5) Fordham's Department of Communication Arts is featuring an institute on Professional Writing and Publication; 6) University of Detroit, June 24-July 2, will conduct an institute on Catholic Educational Philosophy.

A. P. F.

Editorials

Soviet "peace" objectives

Months ago, close students of Soviet strategy foresaw that the "hard" period of open aggression might give way to a "soft" phase in which Kremlin leadership would go through the motions of talking peace. Deception and temporizing would be the motives, said the observers. Today, now the attempt at a policy shift has been made, we are in a better position to judge the validity of those predictions.

After absorbing the Baltic States, and reducing Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Eastern Germany, Manchuria and North Korea to satellite status, consolidation is obviously called for. Hitler, too, talked peace during such strategic moments.

In the case of Russia, the long-term program—no secret since the Revolution—called for progressive sovietization of the economies, politics and cultures of the subjugated peoples. The native Communist Parties had to be able to handle affairs, so that the semantics of "autonomy" and "sovereignty" could be indulged in. But with all this differentiation and apparent yielding to national prejudices, there would be no sacrifice of that close-knit dependence upon Russian foreign policy which is the keynote of Soviet internationalism. Thus the myth of a free union of socialist republics would be preserved.

The Kremlin leaders are well aware of the propaganda value of being for peace. Amidst the tension of the cold war, many people could be counted on to forget Soviet sabotage of postwar peace efforts. The short-sighted would not know about, or understand, what was meant by Russian rejection of UN disarmament plans, of international inspection of atomic energy, of a broad non-communist European reconstruction program. They might forget that the USSR had cold-shouldered the International Refugee Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the preparatory meetings on international trade at Geneva and Havana.

Somehow, the politically naive would see nothing amiss in Stalin's talking peace while communist armies prepared new offensives in North China or while Soviet officers barred UN elections in Korea. So the Politburo thought, and may still think, for all we know. Their actions indicate knowledge of nothing but power politics, with no moral considerations. Peter the Great is their new-found hero.

The full import of Soviet strategy would come to light only after close study of the facts and documents. It takes time to annotate and interpret the semantic gestures of Stalin in his reply to the letter of Henry Wallace. The State Department merely outlined the general scheme of rebuttal in its statement of May 19. A detailed reply would fill a volume.

In rejecting the "peace offensive" of Russia, or rather in reaffirming with precision the U.S. position, our State Department has clarified the issue. There will be no bilateral talks; no new Stalin-Ribbentrop episodes, in which two dictatorships divided the world. The United States stands firm on the principle of international organization; we do not intend to be isolated from the court of world opinion by an aggressive Soviet.

Now, as always, the test of Stalin's sincerity is cooperation. If he wants peace, the way is clear. It means disbanding his armies, laying aside his conquests, granting freedom of movement, of information, of conscience to his subjects and slaves.

The United States knows now that Soviet Russia has never yielded one square foot of territory, once it took over. To it, freedom means conformity. If Russia wants peace, it has only to perform the works of peace and stop trying to blackmail the rest of the world. One Hitler is enough in a generation.

In the political struggle, Britain and the other free nations can be counted on to stand with us. The open repudiation of the communist overtures by British Labor leaders gives assurance of solidarity on this issue.

Americans must remember that this is the war. Appeasement means betrayal of our friends throughout the world. Worse, it is a positive act of surrender.

UN and human rights

What will come out of the work of the UN Commission on Human Rights, now in its fifth session at Lake Success? It is safe to say that nothing spectacular or revolutionary will emerge. The final solution to the problem of human freedom and dignity in the world does not rest in the power of a subsidiary body of the United Nations, if indeed the answer rests at all with any political instrumentality. It will prove very difficult to find relative agreement among the nations on what constitutes the legitimate border line between the power and prerogatives of modern civil authority and the inalienable rights of the human person. It will be even more difficult to establish methods of implementation that can prevail against the formidable legal barricades long established by governments to safeguard their freedom of action, or against the frank recalcitrance of totalitarian regimes.

Fortunately here we have a case in which the attempt alone can be productive of constructive results, so that the peoples of the world can benefit even before the project is completed. This explains why, from San Francisco onward, the various religious forces of the country have evinced the liveliest interest in the Commission's work. For the Commission is wrestling with ideas. Implicitly it wants to probe the foundations of human liberty.

Its terms of reference are to find ways and means of advancing and defending fundamental human rights, which of course means that these rights are worth defending in themselves. In the final analysis, the continuing work of the Commission is an affirmation, in the words of the Catholic bishops on November 16, 1946, that "at the bottom of all problems of the world today is the problem of man."

Can a satisfactory job be done by a group of governmental appointees representing conflicting or at least diverse cultures, religions and modes of philosophical thought? Happily the Commission has largely departed from its initial and self-defeating attitude that the prospective bill of human rights must necessarily be a compromise between Western and Soviet points of view. The representatives of the USSR and its satellites have done the Commission the honor of abstaining upon or voting against the larger part of the articles thus far approved. But though the eighteen members of the Commission are, with some notable exceptions, not conspicuously qualified to draft a perfect bill, they are at least open to suggestions.

The Commission will most certainly condemn its work to sterility if it closes its ears to the recommendations of religious leaders, who, unlike many political leaders, have not lost their way in the midst of the world's present confusion. For instance, our own representative would do well to advert to the urgent recommendation of the Catholic Association for International Peace on the rights of parents to determine the kind of religious teaching the child shall receive. A corollary to this right is the right of parents to be assisted by their government in fulfilling their parental duties. It is from the perspective of the family's inalienable rights that the individual's just claims to employment opportunity and social security can most adequately be established. In a matter subject to frequent redraftings, it would not be wise to attach too much importance to specific phrasing. But a bill of human rights should at least register the fact that the human person has his dignity from sources anterior to the state and that the laws of the state must recognize this fact. If it fails to do that, the silent condemnation of the people will relegate it and its authors to more complete oblivion than is usually the fate of such international manifestoes.

Conscription and morality

Not a few Catholics, particularly young men who will be liable to the draft that seems sure to come in some form, are being disturbed in conscience by a recently published, extensive and apparently thoughtfully considered statement to the effect that military conscription is of its nature immoral. The statement, actually, is anything but well considered; it is falsely based, speciously argued and deserves a much more exhaustive refutation than there is room for in the space of an editorial.

This new attack on patriotic service is not quite the old argument of conscientious objection. It is not based on the justice or the injustice of a war, but rather on the

relation of the state to the personality of the citizen. The basic argument runs as follows: the state has no right, in conscripting the wealth and services of citizens in its defense, to absorb the life of the citizen completely, to the violation of his innermost personality, to the surrender of his spiritual and supernatural rights and gifts. But through universal compulsory military service the state does so invade the domain of innermost personality. As proof of this minor premise it is adduced that such conscription forces men into a vocation for which they will have no equipment; it hinders them from following their God-given vocation. These are the intrinsic evils; in addition, there is the extrinsic violation of personality in the frequency of temptation under such abnormal living.

Of course the state has no right to invade the inner domain of the soul, but that military conscription is such an invasion merits nothing less than a flat denial. First, the term of service imposed by conscription can by no means be considered a *vocation*, because a necessary constituent of a vocation is stability, permanence; second, though conscription may forestall for a time the adoption of a true vocation, it is all but impossible to prove that the ordinary avocations of life are "God-given vocations" which conscription blocks; third, if the temptations were as grave and universal as is maintained, the result should have been uniformly noticed in our young men and women who served in the war. But, despite cases to the contrary, it is simply not true that eleven million young people were debauched by their military service.

Not only does this attack on the morality of conscription rest on such fallacious reasoning; it also distorts papal statements into supporting its position. The pronouncements of the Popes which have touched military conscription have 1) always referred to universal conscription *in peacetime*; 2) not pointed out any intrinsic immorality (which certainly would have been stressed if it existed), but rather conscription's interference with normal national life; 3) been concerned with conscription as being a source of militaristic nationalism. No Pope, to our knowledge, has ever condemned conscription in a time of national or world emergency.

Further, the current argument against conscription, high in moral tone as it appears, actually is an unspiritual approach to the problem. For the answer to whether or not young people by conscription are placed under circumstances that make a life of virtue more difficult is simply that, if difficulties abound, God's grace will certainly superabound. And this is no attitude of presumption; it would be presumption to place one's self freely and needlessly in a situation where temptations are frequent and grave and then expect God's grace to preserve one; but to hold that conscription so places one is to presuppose what has not yet been proved—namely, that there is no *duty* to submit to it if conscription is the only way by which one's country, under existing circumstances, can be defended.

Finally, such black-and-white attitudes manifest entirely too much zeal to put on peoples' consciences a

burden that by no means clearly exists. At an extreme outside of generousness, it might be conceded that the argument has *some* probability. Even so, that is no justification for serious and widespread troubling of consciences. Conscriptio is hardship and peril enough as it is; it is not only false, it is also unkind to paint it frighteningly as something which is in itself intrinsically immoral.

Catholic press awards

Skeptics as to the progress of the American Catholic press—if such exist—were agreeably disillusioned at the thirty-eighth annual convention of the Catholic Press Association of the United States as it met in Cleveland, May 19-21. For the first time, annual awards were given for achievements in journalism in a variety of fields, such as editorial and magazine-article writing, news reporting, special features, poetry, etc. Reader families of the various publications were stimulated to keener appreciation of the year's literary fare, when they discovered that their respective favorites—authors or productions—were publicly honored. (It is pleasant for us to record that AMERICA was generously included.)

These awards, said Bishop John K. Mussio of Steubenville, who presided at the special session, are a "sign of progress," and prove to the world that Catholic journalists are branching out in "ambitious and thoughtful patterns." Added the bishop: "We have everything; it just needs to be put out clearly and forcibly." The awards indicated that "the tremendous work the Catholic press is doing has not gone unnoticed and unappreciated."

"Never before," said Frank A. Hall, Director of the NCWC News Service, in his annual report to the Association, "has there been so great a need for the Catholic press to be Catholic in all meanings of the word"—Catholic in its broad and long view of world events; Catholic, too, in the great scope of its coverage. Improvement in force and facility of expression, as registered by the awards, means of course greater ability to achieve such coverage through the vehicle of the Catholic press. But it also implies that our writers, our speakers and artists, our creative talent in general, are in a much better position today than they were even in the recent past to find their way into all the channels of public opinion. New capabilities on our part will acquire new hearings; and the "policy of withdrawal" will give way to the "policy of presence" at the very sources of public enlightenment.

One persistent query, however, remains, which was reflected in some of the discussions at the Cleveland CPA convention. Certainly it is well to "get in there," where up to now we have been largely excluded; or to "get out" into the front lines of public-opinion making, where we can conquer the minds and hearts of the millions. But what have we to offer, when we are placed at the copy-desk or the microphone; or how thoroughly are we armed with a full Catholic message of doctrine, when we are really fighting out in the front ranks? The *merely* articulate Catholic is not sufficient for the needs of the present crisis. His utterances may be positively harmful, if he

presents but a conveniently tailored fragment of the Church's message.

This reflection applies with particular force to the social message of the Church, with its peculiar opportuneness for the needs of our time. If this message is neglected in our Catholic mass publicity, the effect is a distorted picture of what the Church really has to say to contemporary man. Preparation and training are needed in order to deliver a full and integrated Catholic message. No small degree of spiritual insight is required in order to present it with the utmost simplicity and clarity, yet without that baneful over-simplification which all too often proves a trap for the unwary. Considering the Catholic press, this requirement would seem to indicate that journalistic training for content as well as for form will be increasingly a topic for discussion at future CPA conventions.

Pay of postal employees

Two weeks ago, in the course of a radio dialog with William C. O'Doherty, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers (AFL), Representative Walter A. Lynch of New York affirmed that Congress "has a moral obligation to adjust postal salaries when the fluctuations in national economy change things in such a manner as to put postal employees at a disadvantage in the price market."

Not a single Senator or Representative, it is scarcely necessary to observe, would disagree on this point with the honorable member from New York. Very few of them, either, would disagree with Mr. Lynch when he says that postal employees have fallen badly behind in the race to keep pace with the rising costs of living, or that the entrance salary of letter carriers—\$2,100—is hardly sufficient these days to support even a small family of four. Indeed, on the top-grade wage of \$3,100, which is paid to eligible postal workers only after eleven years of service, many a father has an understandably hard time making ends meet. That is why some postal workers have been obliged to engage in outside employment, or to permit their wives to work outside the home.

The hard facts of the letter-carrier's life are well known in Congress. Studies have been made by the appropriate committees of both Houses, and a number of bills have been introduced. One of them (S. 1949, which would grant all postal employees an \$800 increase in base pay) was formally reported to the Senate on April 7 by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. It has been on the Senate Calendar awaiting action ever since. If it were not for the fact that there exists on Capitol Hill widespread sympathy for the postal workers, one might be inclined to suspect that the Congress takes very lightly the moral obligation of which Representative Lynch has spoken. We know how crowded the calendars are in both Houses, and how little time remains before the pre-convention adjournment. But we know, too, what a burden the postal workers are carrying and how thin their patience has worn. It should not take long to debate S. 1949, and send it along to the House. How about it, honorable gentlemen of the Senate?

Political hazards of the ERP

Tibor Payzs

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, the legislative vehicle of the European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan) has been started by Congress on the road that leads to a healthy and stable Europe. But the road, unfortunately, is not an open expressway; there are many obstacles to overcome.

The major political hazards to be met by the European Recovery Program (ERP) stem from communist opposition. The communist aim is to wreck the ERP. Consequently, the governments of Eastern Europe have been prevented from participating, thus limiting the program to sixteen European nations. Moreover, the Cominform (the new Comintern) has been established with nine Communist Parties as members, seven from Eastern Europe (including the Soviet Union) and two from the West, namely, Italy and France.

The purpose of the Cominform is to stop the "imperialism" of the "monopoly capitalists" (the United States) and their "stooges" (the Labor Government of Great Britain and the Democratic Socialists of the Continent), who allegedly are using Marxist phraseology to betray the true interests of labor. In order to attain "people's democracies"—such as Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and other countries in Eastern Europe enjoy—the Communist Parties must be ready to take over in defense of "national sovereignties" against American imperialism, the chief instrument of which is the Marshall Plan. Such is the program of the Cominform.

With the events of February 25 in Czechoslovakia, the political phase of the job entrusted to the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe was complete. Nevertheless, East-West trade (including trade between the United States and the Soviet Union) still continues. The ERP is based in part upon the notion that such trade will increase from year to year. Europeans, mindful of past mutually complementary economies of Eastern and Western Europe, are promoting it. For instance, Italian Foreign Minister Sforza, in the course of the heated anti-communist election campaign, found it judicious to declare in Milan on April 11, 1948 that Italy wishes to maintain and develop her traditional trade relations with Eastern Europe. (His position on this subject is clearly stated in an article, "Italy, the Marshall Plan and the 'Third Force,'" published in the April, 1948 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. See also *AMERICA*, Feb. 14, 1948, "East-West trade and European recovery," by Tibor Payzs.)

The United States Administration's policy is to continue East-West trade so long as it does not measurably increase Soviet military power. So eastern food, fodder, timber and coal, chrome ore, manganese and platinum are exchanged for western industrial products, mostly machinery, the manufacturing of which requires the technology possessed by the West.

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Thus, while East-West trade unquestionably helps the ERP, it also includes the political hazard that this trade may unduly strengthen ERP foes east of the Trieste-Stettin line.

But there are also political hazards to the ERP west of the iron curtain. One evident example was the personal letter of Premier Stalin to President Paasikivi of Finland which resulted in the Finnish-Soviet treaty, signed on April 6, 1948. This created considerable nervousness in Scandinavia, particularly in Sweden. Of the sixteen ERP countries, Italy and France are regarded as the strongest potential hazards, for the Italian and French Communist Parties are charter members of the Cominform.

In Italy, the major triumph of the Communists was scored several months before the elections, when Signori Togliatti and Longo succeeded in splitting the Socialist Party into a left wing (the Nenni Socialists) and a right wing (the Socialist Unity Party of Signori Saragat and Lombardo). Communists and the left-wing Nenni Socialists, forming the Popular Front or People's Bloc, confidently expected to receive a plurality, if not a majority, in the elections held on April 18 and 19, 1948.

The elections resulted in the victory of the Christian Democrats of Premier Alcide de Gasperi, and of other anti-communist parties. Nevertheless the Popular Front received enough votes to hold approximately one-third of the seats in both Houses of the Italian Parliament. It would be a mistake to believe that the recent elections signal the end of communist efforts to gain power in Italy and deliver her to Moscow. This ultimate goal will not be given up easily by Signor Togliatti and his associates. In view of this, the Italian Government has prepared precautionary measures to counter any move of the *Apparat*, a "secret" armed force of the Italian Communists led by Luigi Longo. Moreover, we must reckon with the Italian Confederation of Labor, led by communist Giuseppe di Vittorio, which through work stoppages might hamper Italy's contribution to the cooperative endeavor of European recovery.

The Italian voter was told that he had to choose between the "United States and Russia," between East and West. The Italian people made their choice. What now remains to be done in Italy is to carry out a well-administered economic and social program, a policy of Christian and democratic social justice. This is the best insurance against communist agitation. Such a program can be realized, one hopes, as Italian recovery under the ERP proceeds. This, in turn, will diminish the degree to which Italy, as a result of her domestic conditions, is a political hazard to the ERP.

Turning from Italy to France, we find that on the surface the French situation seems tranquil. The Communists, under the leadership of Messrs. Thorez and Duclos,

are in opposition to a coalition cabinet of the "Third Force" which centers around the MRP, the Socialists and the Radical Socialists.

In November, 1947, soon after the establishment of the Cominform, communist trade-union leaders called a general strike in France. However, non-communist labor recognized that it was being used as a political weapon in the hands of Moscow. As a consequence, a large portion of the non-communist sector of French labor rallied around Léon Jouhaux, a Socialist, who created the CGT-Force Ouvrière as distinct from the communist-led CGT, the General Confederation of Labor. The first national congress of the new anti-communist labor group was held in Paris in April. On that occasion Robert Bothereau, secretary of the Force Ouvrière, announced that the new group, having already 1,500,000 adherents, would soon be larger than the communist-dominated CGT. It aims to work for the legitimate interests of labor, without being used for the purposes of any political party. (In addition, there is also a strong French Confederation of Christian Workers, the CFTC, which, of course, is anti-communist.) As a result of losing their grip on organized labor, French Communists are changing their strategy and tactics. France has her own recovery program, the Monnet Plan, and an anti-inflationary financial stabilization program, developed by M. René Mayer, the Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs. (Cf. AMERICA, Mar. 15, 1947, "The Monnet Plan," by Jean Minéry; May 22, 1948, "Anti-inflation program in France," by Alain Barrère.) These programs require steady and uninterrupted work, austerity and sacrifice. They call for low living standards, high taxes, forced loans. And they cannot succeed without U.S. assistance.

The Communists, the largest single party in the National Assembly (the all-important lower House of the French Parliament), oppose these measures. Extending their propaganda activities beyond the ranks of industrial labor, they agitate against the Government among the politically short-sighted French peasants and the city dwellers with low income, hard hit by inflation.

In sum, then, the particular political hazards in Europe to the ERP seem to be: the strengthening of the Soviet-dominated East as a result of increased East-West trade, and communist activities in Italy and France. There is, in addition, a general hazard—that the Soviet Politburo might decide to overrun continental Europe militarily rather than permit the ERP to succeed. What is being done to overcome these hazards?

As to the East-West trade, the United States is applying export controls. Embargoes have been placed on airplanes, munitions and atomic materials. Certain types of precision instruments and electronic tubes are withheld from the Soviet-dominated East. In addition, the Economic Cooperation Administrator (the official responsible for the execution of the ERP) is empowered to advise the governmental agencies concerned whenever he believes that the issuing of export licences for any commodity to any "non-participating" country would be inconsistent with the ERP. The countries of Eastern Europe are "non-participating."

But what about the sixteen participating countries and their trade with the East? The Administrator, according to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, must refuse to deliver to ERP countries goods used by the ERP countries to produce commodities for prohibited delivery to "non-participating" countries. Deliberate evasion by an ERP country may result in termination of American assistance.

The hazards in Italy and in France are counteracted by European progress toward a unity which would minimize the danger of the nations being taken one by one.

On the economic front, in April, 1948 the ERP countries, including the British-American Bizonia and the French zone of Western Germany, established in Paris a permanent Organization for European Economic Cooperation. This new organization, whose existence is not limited to the 1948-51 period of American aid, could develop into a permanent political and economic organization of non-communist Europe. If Paul Hoffman, the Economic Cooperation Administrator, and his chief European representative, Ambassador-at-Large W. Averell Harriman, will deal with this new organization rather than with



individual national delegations, thus fostering European cooperation and avoiding a "queue" in Washington of the participant governments, the prospects of lasting European unity would be bright indeed.

Meanwhile the ERP countries are not oblivious of their pledges for an all-inclusive customs union, or, initially, for several customs unions. Considerable preliminary technical work has been done with a view to establishing a single customs union by the European Customs Union Study Group. The Benelux union, consisting of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, has been in existence since January 1, 1948. An agreement regarding a French-Italian customs union was signed in Turin on March 20, 1948. In addition, French-Benelux, a Scandinavian (Sweden-Norway-Denmark-Iceland), and a Greek-Turkish customs union are under consideration. The creation of such unions, however, is a complex task, fraught with difficulty. It requires more than the mere abolishing of tariffs. It demands the synchronizing, indeed the uniting of overlapping, often non-complementary national economies.

On the political front, the Treaty of Brussels, signed on March 17, 1948, laid the foundation for a Western European association of states. Agreement was reached between Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg for a fifty-year period of political, defense, economic and cultural cooperation, in harmony with the Charter of the UN, the ERP and other existing commitments. The door was left open to other countries, a fact which has particular significance for Italy. But in view of several clauses of the Treaty of Brussels, Italy could not enter this association of states before obtaining revision of her peace treaty and admission to UN.

The negotiation of the five-Power agreement in Brussels was given impetus by the London conference on Germany, which closed on March 6, 1948. At this con-

ference the United States, Great Britain, France and the Benelux countries agreed on certain principles regarding the future status of Western Germany and the Ruhr. Subsequent events have indicated that a decision is in the making for the eventual establishment of a German political government for Western Germany, based on what is called an "occupation statute."

In addition to these moves in Europe toward economic and political unity, there is a growing realization on both sides of the Atlantic that economic assistance through the ERP must be complemented by United States commit-

ments of another sort. President Truman's Message to Congress on March 17, 1948; subsequent congressional activities in the field of national defense; the recent visit to Washington of Premier Spaak of Belgium: these are indications that the United States is preparing to leave no doubt as to prospective American response to further communist aggression, direct or indirect, against any of the free countries of Europe.

For the United States is the only force in the world today which is capable of preventing the catastrophe of a Third World War.

Amsterdam in August

Edward Duff, S.J.

Father Edward Duff, S.J., a Guest Editor of AMERICA in the summer of 1944, has rejoined the staff after a year spent with the Institute of Social Order at St. Louis, and a period of teaching at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Worshippers in Protestant churches throughout the country this Pentecost Sunday fixed their minds and their prayers on the World Council of Churches which is to convene August 22 to September 5 at Amsterdam.

A radio program carried by 325 stations described the coming meeting, which was heralded by an Episcopal bishop as the most significant event of the twentieth century, "the beginning of the end of all interdenominational animosities." *Life* pictured it in advance as "one of the most important events in Protestantism." The gathering at Amsterdam, focus of so many prayers and hopes, will bring together 450 clerical and lay leaders of almost 150 Protestant and Orthodox churches from all continents in the First General Assembly of the World Council of Churches, thus climaxing nearly a century of effort towards ecumenical unity.

Though the word "ecumenical" signifies the "whole household of faith, embracing all races, all nations, all branches of the Church itself throughout the world," the Council does not conceive of itself as a super-church—much less as a new absolutist "Vatican" declaring the beliefs of its adherents. It will have no jurisdiction over church bodies associated with it. Wholly consultative in character, it hopes to "afford a common ground on which churches can meet in the common area of mutual tasks and problems and find solutions for them on the basis of common convictions." "A fellowship of churches which accept Our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour" is declared to be the official basis of its constitutional existence; and all amendments to that ample assertion will be deferred for study by the next Assembly five years hence.

There will be some conspicuous abstentions from the gathering. The Catholic Church, of course, could not affiliate without betraying its essence and denying its mandate from Christ; the political orientation of Orthodox churches behind the iron curtain will probably prevent their arrival at Amsterdam; certain fundamentalist Protestant groups plan to conduct an opposition Council meeting in the same city. Even so, the World Council is an impressive gathering of non-Catholic Christianity.

It is in the great missionary enterprise of nineteenth-

century Protestantism that the origins of the ecumenical movement are to be found. Fittingly, one of the five Presidents of the Council is Dr. John A. Mott, who organized the World Student Christian Federation in 1895, with the watchword: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." It was in the mission fields that the disadvantages of denominationalism became most apparent to Protestants. It was not the awkwardness of nomenclature—the Protestant Episcopal Church becoming in literal, native translation "Church of the Contradicting Overseers"—nor the scandal of sectarian bickering, nor the obvious increase in efficiency from curtailing duplication, so much as a less dogmatic conception of the purpose of the missions that assisted the cooperation of the churches. When the Laymen's Commission for Protestant Evangelical effort defined the objective, a decade ago, as a seeking "with all men to realize the divine possibilities of a personal and social life," its unecclasiastical emphasis expressed a salient feature of modern Protestantism, which finds nothing so intolerable as the claim of any church to complete possession of God's message to men.

A pioneer Anglican missionary bishop to the antipodes asked in a sermon at the University of Cambridge in 1854: "Is it, then, a hope too unreasonable to be entertained that the power which will heal the divisions of the Church at home may come from her distant fields of missionary work?" That same year the Union Missionary Convention was held in New York City, the first of a series of Protestant interdenominational meetings that led eventually to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, which in turn fructified two distinct elements of the ecumenical movement which will converge in the climax of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches.

An American, Charles Henry Brent, the first missionary Episcopal bishop to the Philippines, was in attendance at Edinburgh in 1910. The experience convinced him that "by practising unity we shall gain unity," and moved him to work for formal discussions among the churches to consider the "faith they held in common, to face frankly and try to understand the differences and to

explore ways in which they might come closer together." The World Conference on Faith and Order, meeting at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927 gave permanent form to this desire. The effort "to concentrate the mind of Christendom on the mind of Christ as revealed in the gospels towards those great social, industrial and international questions which are acutely urgent in our civilization" produced another form of Protestant ecumenicism, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, which first met at Stockholm in August, 1925 at the invitation and largely through the inspiration of the Archbishop of Upsala, Nathan Söderblom.

In 1937 the two movements were meeting in the same country during the same summer. Life and Work gathered at Oxford in July to discuss issues related to the theme "Church, Community, State." Faith and Order, meeting at Edinburgh in August, was asking fundamental questions such as whether different conceptions of the sacraments, of grace, of faith, offered a reason for continuing different churches today. A realization of the interconnection of each movement suggested the formation of a new organization which would continue the functions of each and be a permanent platform of ecumenicism. With virtually unanimous endorsement, eighty leaders of Faith and Order and Life and Work met the following year at Utrecht under the leadership of William Temple, then Archbishop of York, and formulated a constitution and a plan of organization of a World Council of Churches, whose Provisional Committee, on the motion of the American historian, Kenneth Scott Latourette, was authorized to act as an executive Central Committee, should war interfere with an early calling of the proposed Assembly.

The war postponed the official coming into being of the Council for seven years, but the location of the international secretariate on neutral ground at Geneva allowed much to be done. An Ecumenical Refugee Commission saved thousands of lives; a chaplaincy service worked with the YMCA War Prisoners' Aid to meet spiritual needs and supply bibles and tracts to prisoners; a press service sustained the ecumenical idea by keeping demonational papers on both sides posted on developments.

After the war a Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, whose arm in the United States is the Church World Service, was created to supply clothes, food, bicycles and beds, even temporary churches. A Youth Department was added and an Ecumenical Institute at Céligny, Switzerland—to train leaders, clerical and lay—was made possible by the munificence of John D. Rockefeller. A Study Department, with Dr. Henry Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., as chairman, has enlisted the active and sustained assistance of an impressive group of international scholars, including Professor John C. Bennett, in preparing background material for the discussions of the Assembly. In cooperation with the International Missionary Council, a Commission of International Affairs was set up that includes much of the personnel and the philosophy of the wartime American Commission on a Just and Durable Peace.

With the death of the chairman of the Provisional Committee, Archbishop Temple, in 1944, five presidents were appointed who, with the Provisional Committee, accepted the invitation to hold the first General Assembly in Holland, and assigned the theme "Man's Disorder and God's Design."

What will the delegates—of whom there will be ninety representing nearly thirty churches of Canada and the United States—be doing during the two weeks of sessions? There will be official receptions and public meetings, but much concentrated study and discussion on the phases of the main theme are indicated. While there will be an hour of worship each morning, no communion service of the Assembly as such is contemplated, though the delegates are urged to share spiritually—"and physically according to their consciences and the traditions of the churches"—at the communion services of the Anglicans and the Orthodox bodies. After the plenary sessions with addresses outlining the theme, the delegates divide into four sections to study and discuss the material prepared over the last two years as background of the four aspects of the general theme.

In Section I, "The Universal Church in God's design," theological questions on the nature of the Church will inescapably arise. Five interpretations are offered in the study book, supplied to the delegates in galley-page form,



plus a chapter by a Catholic theologian. While the resolution of the questions under this heading is the specific province not of the World Council but of a Faith and Order Conference to be held in 1950, the *Living Church*, an organ of American Episcopalianism, suggests that

the following are some of the questions that will confront the section:

What is the reality that lies behind the façade of 130-odd communions, denominations and sects? In the welter of churches, where is the Church? What is it? How does it fit into the picture of contemporary society? What is God's plan for the Church? What is our task in the light of that plan?

Section II, "God's Design and Man's Witness," is concerned with the problem of evangelism and the methods of reaching the vast non-Christian majority that surrounds the Christian community. Section III addresses itself to the subject, "The Church and the Disorder of Society," and endeavors to appraise the relation of "the Church" (as yet undefined) to a secularized civilization. The destructive impact of technology on the organic forms of human community—particularly the family—and the complex problems created in consequence for a free and responsible society will be a major item on the agenda. What should be the Christian judgment on current political parties—particularly parties that call themselves Christian—and economic forces and economic planning that seeks to protect liberty, is a problem included in the inquiry of this section.

What the Christian judgment on issues of international order should be is the concern of Section IV, "The Church and International Affairs." This Section of the Council is peculiar in that it is a permanent commission that seeks to "establish and maintain a two-way line of communication between the churches throughout the world and international political bodies such as the United Nations." Its director is an American, Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, who worked tirelessly at San Francisco with Father Edward A. Conway, S.J. (for NCWC) to have UN include a Commission on Human Rights in its structure.

At Amsterdam, Section IV will face many of the problems currently confronting the United Nations. "It is impossible to say what the specific topics will be—history moves so fast," says a World Council release. So fast does history move that one of the authors in the study book for the section, contributor of the chapter "Christian Responsibility in Our Divided World," Dr. Joseph F. Hromadka, dean of the theological faculty of the University of Prague, was disconcertingly discovered to be a member of the Central Action Committee that policed the communist coup last February.

In the afternoons the delegates will be similarly divided into four committees, one of which will study the constitution of the Council as now framed, plus seven or eight amendments, including the suggestion of representation on a confessional rather than a geographical basis. Another committee will seek to establish the policy of the Council as an organization; a third will deal with administrative details, and the last, a committee on the "Concerns of the Churches," will consider anti-Semitism, women in the church, training for lay leadership, etc.

At the final plenary sessions in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw, the delegates will hear 2,500-word reports from the sections simultaneously translated over individual earphone sets, a gift of Thomas J. Watson of International Business Machines. Discussion from the floor will precede the formulation of conclusions, which will undoubtedly be given the wide publicity that the representative character of the Assembly warrants.

What should Catholics think of the World Council of Churches? When the Provisional Committee gathered at Geneva in February, 1946 to formulate plans for the Assembly, Vatican observers were in attendance, and Msgr. Charrière, the local bishop, sent a message to one of the leading delegates expressing "sentiments of fraternity and encouragement." AMERICA commented at the time that "the Geneva meeting was significant and should not be passed over." The notion, however, that the Church, the *Ecclesia Una, Sancta* of the Creed, is some vague fraternity of fellowship, or that the Church is an artificial amalgam of "the churches" is repugnant to Catholics and, indeed, to the traditions of Christendom.

An unfortunate reference in the Council's literature to the first "council on Christian unity," reported in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, when, it is claimed, St. Paul exposed the only basis for unity—personal liberty—inevitably reminds a Catholic that there are more "churches" at Amsterdam than there were Christians at the Jerusalem meeting where "there was

much disputing until Peter rose." Nor do Catholics find encouraging the rather sanguine expectation expressed by some exponents of ecumenicism that the Catholic Church will ultimately be forced to come to terms with a dominant Merger Church of the future. But American Catholics genuinely rejoice at the World Council's efforts to strengthen the bases of society under attack by anti-Christian philosophies, to clarify the vision of the Christian's role in a mechanized civilization, to deepen insights of the opportunities for moral reconquest of the world. The "Pattern for Peace," drawn up by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders of the United States in 1943, demonstrated the possibilities of cooperation. Our prayers, moreover, attend all search for God's will, all studies of the sources of unity. In such attitudes we follow the lead of the Popes of our times.

A fuller appraisal of the Amsterdam Assembly must await its achievements.

New signs in France's political skies

Raymond Jouve

Anyone who left France a year or so ago and now returns will be somewhat surprised, as he reads the reviews, books, newspapers, to sense a new emphasis, precise enough to be noticeable. The break in tone became apparent in January, 1948. With the coming of the new year, books appeared on the stalls which would not have been thought of a few months before, except perhaps as "under-the-counter" wares.

One of these new books is by M. Buttin, on the trial of Pucheu; another, by M. Izorny, deals with the case of Brazillach. A third, on the trial of Laval, was shortly thereafter followed by a collection of his letters, selected by his daughter. This whole series, written by lawyers, deals with political personalities who were condemned as collaborators by the High Court of Justice, and were shot as traitors.

Other political men who have been released from prison by the Government are writing their apologies. Among these is Sacha Guitry, famous French actor and playwright, whose *Quatre Années d'Occupations* is already well known in New York. And Bardèche has written an open letter to François Mauriac, with the aim of discrediting the blind purges that followed the war.

But perhaps the most outspoken attack on the political abuses of justice is found in the book by former Deputy Chanoine Desgranges, *Les Crimes Masqués du Résistantialisme*. There the so-called "Maquis" is confronted with a list of bloody crimes, acts of vengeance committed during the troubled days of the liberation against men and women and families whose names are given and whose innocence is patent.

Another sign of change is the gradual but increasing appearance of books and the return to the stage of plays

by authors whose work had been banned by the CNE (Comité National des Ecrivains) on the ground that these dramatists were collaborators, or friendly to the occupying forces, or at least were men of Vichy. Chief amongst these plays are *Le Maître de Santiago*, by H. de Montherlant, and *Le Voyage en Calèche*, by J. Giono.

In keeping with this new accent, we note in Paris the reappearance of books by André Maurois—his *Journal*, his history of the United States, a new novel, articles in the literary and political weekly, *La Bataille*. And, last winter, Parisians were again able to hear him lecture. Having withdrawn to America during the war, faithful to the Vichy Government, Maurois had tried after the Allied landings in North Africa to serve as an interpreter under General Giraud, but was not accepted; he therefore had to await a better moment to resume his seat in the Académie Française and his role in French letters.

Further significant of the change was the reappearance, in January, of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the journal of international reputation noted for contributions by famous French academicians. Following the armistice, Marshal Pétain had written for this Review and, under the direction of André Chaumeix, it became the official organ of the Vichy Government, with its war news subject to German censorship. Publication was suspended, however, in November, 1942 when the Germans invaded all of France. After the liberation, *Revue des Deux Mondes* was prohibited, along with all other periodicals which had been published during the occupation. Under a slightly modified title, but with the same format and type and its old team of academicians—to which must be added the recently elected Marcel Pagnol and Jules Romains—it is here again, with its 200 pages, the only such publication to appear twice a month. This periodical must not be confused with *Hommes et Mondes*, another review, which was published in 1946 to take the place (and many a subscriber) of the old *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Among other significant happenings in the literary field is the birth of an entirely new Review, *La Table Ronde*. This marks an open break with the orders of the CNE, which, in the name of the Resistance, had disqualified several writers. Thierry Maulnier and Jean Paulhan, though belonging to the "resistant" CNE, have now decided to declare for a literary amnesty, and have opened their pages in the *Table Ronde* to such writers as Henri de Montherlant, Jean Giono and Marcel Jouhandeau, who had been considered disqualified for over two years. The new review, in which Mauriac, Paulhan and Camus appear, thus marks the end of a conflict which had divided the French literary world as well as the French public. In general, *Table Ronde* is much like a second *Nouvelle Revue Française* in style and inspiration. Its aim is to free writers from all political dictation, be it resistance or communist. This aim is worth noting, in view of the Zhdanov speech in Moscow condemning occidental philosophy and literature as void of true political meaning.

Paralleling these events in the literary field is the change in the political scene, signalized by the fact that

the High Court in France is relaxing somewhat the severity of its judgments on former men of Vichy. Specifically, it has exonerated three late Ministers of Marshal Pétain—G. Flandin, Lemery and G. Ybarnegaray, and recently General Weygand—of charges of collaboration. In fact, this milder trend has gone so far that the Communists on the High Court bench have resigned. Everywhere, it seems, the Party is losing its hold.

From these facts, can we conclude that a period of pacification has come to France, and that the bitter divisions born of the occupation are now at an end? That the voice of a free and healthy justice can be heard above the impassioned clamor of political parties?

The formation of a committee asking for a review of the trial of Marshal Pétain—to which a French Cardinal has lent his name as sponsor—may give the hope some foundation; but other signs remain of a lasting dislocation of justice in French affairs. There are still too many people in French prisons on charges of collaboration with the enemy who have never been accorded a trial. How many thousands are there whose only crime was to belong to organizations that seemed harmless to them, but which, without their knowledge, helped the Germans! If conditions in these prisons were not detrimental to health and morals, the situation might be less intolerable; but many young boys and girls are there in the midst of criminals and thieves of the worst kind.

This is why—at least three times since the liberation: in February and November, 1945 and in October, 1947—the French Cardinals and Archbishops have written open letters to the President of the French Republic, urging that the problem of political purges be solved. This problem is not peculiar to France. It has poisoned the political life of all the occupied countries of Europe and Asia; and, as such, it is a problem which demands immediate attention, and poses to the conscience of many a nation the question of amnesty.

As things are now, the situation is dangerous to justice in general because, if a country leaves the question of justice to public opinion, the individual conscience is at a loss to know on which side justice is to be found. Public opinion and justice must not be confused.

Not only Catholic leaders, but others as well, see the danger. Among outstanding French Protestants, Pastor Boegner has also raised the alarm in the Paris press. "Nothing sound and enduring," he wrote, "can be built upon policies which continue Gestapo methods in France. True greatness will not return until French citizens again learn to respect and, if possible, to love one another, even though they are opposed in their social and political beliefs."

We can but agree with the appeals of the highest spiritual authorities of this country, and hope for a prompt solution of the situation. Conscience and morality suffered so much abuse during the occupation that we are anxious to see their restoration among our children, our youth and our older people. The practice of dishonesty—on the plea of defrauding the occupying troops—fostered the black market, a plague that has not been eliminated. From parents this laxity spread to children, and it will

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take both the return of abundance and a long period of education to correct it. The same conditions under the occupation also promoted and excused the frauds in identity papers, which prevailed on an unprecedented scale among the underground groups.

Most important of all, what is still left of impartial justice will be jeopardized and subject to suspicion if open injustice is sponsored by official measures, as it now too often is. This is a grave peril which cannot be ignored; the soul of a nation is at stake.

Popular opinion is receptive to liberal and liberating measures. The Government seems strong enough to take such measures; to do so will be the best way to increase its strength. France, as a great Frenchman has said, has not too many children. It is now time to unite them; otherwise it will be too late. The decay of public and private integrity is in danger of reaching such proportions that Europe may become a new Byzantium, and fall prey to a stronger people. In the reign of fear that would follow, under the lash of sheer terror, nothing good could be done—for the individual or the nation.

Catholic schools in the West Indies

G. MacEóin

"Do you realize," I said to the priest, "that you are breaking the law, and that I am possibly breaking the law by aiding and abetting?"

"Here in this jungle clearing in an island off the coast of America you are about to open a school. For the first time in history the sixty or seventy children of this village, eight miles from the nearest road and ten from the nearest school, will have a chance to learn to read and write. But because you haven't the money to equip the school to specifications, you can't get approval from the education authorities. So you are breaking the law."

"I don't care," he said. "Approval or no approval, I'm going ahead. Here you have a couple of hundred poor colored people, all nominally Catholics, living little better than animals. If we wait for the Government to build a school, we may wait a century. Without education they have no prospects in this life and are badly handicapped for the next. You know as well as I do that a normal spiritual life demands a certain minimum development of mind and intellect. That's what I intend to get for them, if it means going to jail."

No colonial government could risk sending a man to jail today for opening a school where previously there had been none. It would look bad. The misguided people who can't see that colonialism has suddenly become completely altruistic might ask awkward questions at the United Nations, and the agitators who play on the ignorance of the colonial masses might present the law to them in a false light. So my friend got away with it. Nevertheless it comes as a shock to realize that, far from giving

whole-hearted support to the missionaries in their efforts to provide education for all, the colonial administrations in the British West Indies are more concerned with getting control of all existing educational facilities than with expanding to meet the needs of rapidly increasing populations. Yet after spending three years as an observer in these colonies and discussing the subject from various angles with Governors, education directors, Colonial Office policy-making officials and heads of various religious denominations, that is the conclusion to which I have been driven. If they are successful, these colonies will drift back to a condition of semi-slavery.

The immediate objectives of colonial educational policy are the destruction of the distinctive religious character of denominational schools, the transfer of control and management of existing denominational schools to the state, and the prevention, as far as circumstances make possible, of new denominational schools. All of these objectives must be pursued within the limitations of political exigencies. They must be made to appear to result from popular demand, the Colonial Office itself remaining unobtrusively in the shadows. But the hidden guidance is unmistakable. This policy is one and constant and, no matter what changes occur in personnel, the objectives remain the same.

The approach to religion in education is dominated by the concept of naturalism and religious indifferentism, a concept that has likewise dominated the official attitude in England itself for many years. No objection would be raised to an "agreed syllabus"—that is to say, a course of moral training prescinding from denominational dogmas, emphasizing practical social principles but ignoring the theological teachings on which they are based. While in discussion this proposal is often said to provide a method for teaching Christianity, that is not true, even in the sense intended by its supporters. The West Indies have a substantial proportion of Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees and pagans, representing as much as a third of the populations of Trinidad and British Guiana. To be even negatively unobjectionable to them, an "agreed syllabus" would have to prescind entirely from Christianity as a foundation for its moral teachings. It would have to be naturalistic in the most literal sense.

Nonconformist sects generally raise little objection to this proposal, for the principle has been accepted by them in England, and their tendency is to make light of doctrinal differences. Anglicans oppose it but, in many cases, only half-heartedly. Non-Catholic missionary bodies are suffering from the decay of religion in their home territories. The evangelizing spirit is weak. The missionaries are seldom willing to bear the privations which the Catholic priests and nuns accept, so that a given money fund will not go as far for them.

The net result is that most of the non-Catholic denominations are ready to surrender their schools to the state, and let it take responsibility for education. Catholics hold out alone, supporting their position not only by the classical arguments but by the practical results, in our own time, of totalitarian education.

Recently the Colonial Office has been promoting an in-

genuous compromise on the religious issue (which, it should be understood, is only an issue in so far as it makes it one), namely that facilities should be provided in all schools for the instruction of all pupils in their respective religions. As every school is bound to accept all comers, and as sanction will not be given for a school of a special denomination when an existing school or schools can accommodate all pupils, this would mean that Catholic schools would have to allow the teachings of all kinds of heresy and of non-Christian religions.

It would be outside my scope to discuss the theological implications, but I may observe that the practical effect of this plan on the religious convictions of the Catholics of the West Indies would be disastrous. The low level of education makes the intellectual basis of their belief poor enough. They lack the tradition of faith which protects the masses in old countries of Catholic culture.

Such proposals, further, produce undesirable secondary reactions. They make it possible to point to Catholics as the villains of the piece, opposed to every project designed to secure agreement on educational policy.

The machinery through which policy is developed is the Board or Council of Education of each colony. This is a body nominated by the Governor, and supposed to represent the different shades of opinion; but even in islands like Grenada and St. Vincent, where Catholics constitute an overwhelming majority, they are only a small minority on the Board. Nor do they get their proportional representation in such an island as Trinidad, where they constitute the biggest religious denomination, a third of the population. Formerly they were guaranteed their proportion by law, but this law was abrogated, about twenty-five years ago, as constituting undue interference with the Governor's discretion. The Governor now gives assurance in the legislature that practice will correspond to the previous law, but his undertaking has never been honored.

Efforts to transfer control and management of all schools to the state are equally persistent. Most of the schools throughout the area were built and are owned by religious denominations, Catholics being responsible for between a third and a half of these. The combined total of denominational schools for British Guiana, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad is about 1,050; of state schools, about 260—a proportion of four to one. The state makes a small contribution to the upkeep of buildings, but the cost of maintaining their schools is a heavy burden on the religious groups. Catholics manage to keep their schools as modern as those of the state, but many of the others are falling into disrepair. Were it not for the determination of Catholics, the non-Catholic denominations would let the state take over.

Since the transfer of all schools to the state would inevitably mean a reorganization which would eliminate dogmatic religion entirely from the program—or at best relegate it to a department in which all denominations would be placed on equal footing in all schools—the effect on religious belief and practice would be disastrous, and social and economic development would also be retarded.

Nor would education under this plan expand even in the quantitative sense. The state, in these parts, has never shown itself a liberal patron. It made no effort to build schools until the religious denominations—and especially the Catholics, who have in all parts led the way—forced and shamed it into action. But even today there is no enthusiasm. Trinidad, the largest oil-producing territory in the British Empire and Commonwealth, is far wealthier than any other British possession in the Caribbean. The Government maintains only forty-five primary schools, fewer than half a century ago. Its building record for the past ten years is about one a year, scarcely enough for replacements. The Catholics put up three or four modern buildings each year, recovering only about ten per cent of the capital cost from public funds. They have now nearly 100 schools, and all other denominations have about 120.

Figures on differences in costs between state and denominational building are interesting. State socialization has assumed alarming proportions in these colonies, and with it has come a substantial fall in the already dangerously low output per worker. Whatever chance socialization may have in a country where good education and a highly developed moral sense stimulate the worker to effort for his ultimate benefit, it has none in territories such as these. The man without education or community sense has no incentive to work, once he becomes a government employe protected by civil-service regulations and the remoteness of responsible control. The practical consequence is that a school that costs the state \$60,000 to build will cost a religious denomination only half that sum. A state monopoly will therefore mean a substantially smaller return for each dollar that is invested in education.

State opposition to new denominational schools is a corollary to the rest of state policy. If it could bolster up its case by showing that a monopoly ensures greater efficiency or more rapid expansion, its attitude would be more logical. But while populations increase more rapidly than schools, and between a third and a half of all children get no schooling at all, only prejudice or disregard for the interests of the governed can explain a refusal to cooperate with anybody who is ready to provide education as good as that provided by the state.

Among primitive peoples the mission school is welcomed by the administrator. It lays the foundations for law and order, and arouses a desire for enough of the comforts of civilization to stimulate the erstwhile savage to work. But in a relatively advanced society like that of the West Indies, adequate and properly motivated education would lay the foundations for independence and equality in a generation. Those who seek to limit or monopolize education in the West Indies do so for their own selfish ends.

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Literature & Art

Literature and secularism

Charles A. Brady

Editor of the recently published Catholic Reader, Charles A. Brady is Professor of English at Canisius College, Buffalo. We are happy to publish here Mr. Brady's address given at the Literary Awards luncheon at the recent Catholic Press Association meeting in Cleveland.

Everybody is quoting Arnold Toynbee nowadays, so let me start with something he says in his latest book, *Civilization on Trial*:

Statues, poems and works of philosophy count here for more than the texts of laws and treaties . . . the works of artists and men of letters outlive the deeds of business men, soldiers and statesmen. The poets and the philosophers outrange the historians; while the prophets and the saints overtop and outlast them all.

So, in the end, only two things survive amid the rubble and detritus of dead civilizations: religion and literature; saints and poets—and these latter Negro swans in our chicken-yard midst are at once more like and more unlike one another than the critic or the historian or the theologian is usually willing to admit. Even the darker gods who fled into the shadows that first Christmas Eve stay in memory, dwindled into Christmas elves and brownies. Proud Ilium settled into the dust of an Asian plain thousands of years ago; but the *Iliad* lives. Dr. Heinrich Schliemann brought tiny Sigrid Undset a little red stone horse he dug up in the Troad. Young Prince Astyanax, Hector's son, may even have played with it; and, for a moment, as she tells us of it, the dead past comes alive again. But Homer never died. His *Odyssey* is every journey man has ever taken or will take; his *Iliad* every war man has ever fought or will fight.

So the *Carmen Saeculare* outlives its *saeculum*. It expresses its age; it impresses its age; it survives its age. It can also be the source of distraction and scandal; for it has never quite solved its own particular riddle, which is to render unto time the things that are time's, and to eternity the things that are eternity's. The *sub specie aeternitatis* has always prior claim. But the *sub specie temporis* is not without its rights, either. And therein lies a tension; therein lies a riddle.

It is a platitude to assert that our troubles began with the Reformation. They did, of course, politically and theologically; and, while we are about it, we must never forget the responsibility we Catholics bear for the rift which was, as Leo X said, *quêrelle de moines*, a quarrel among monks. But, philosophically and literally speaking, the trouble began earlier, with that incredibly rich, incredibly puzzling, potentially perilous phenomenon, the Renaissance; the comely thing that bore, first, the fair infant, humanism, to which Petrarch, More and Colet stood godfather; and, next, the sick bantling, secularism. For what

is secularism, in the last analysis, but the aborted brother of humanism?

And once again we must bear a great portion of responsibility. The first humanists were ours, including the greatest among them, St. Thomas More. How did they get away from us, and what can we do to regain the Citadel of Man, of which Francis of Assisi was the first troubadour and Dante the first seer.

There are good things even in secularism: echoes of the thunder of Rome and the violets of the Renaissance; the harnessing of nature to the purposes of man; the partial conquest of pain and poverty. These achievements of secularism will not endure in *saecula saeculorum*; but, as far as they go, they are good, nonetheless. And it is not Catholicism's wont to destroy, but rather to salvage, to conserve, to consolidate.

We are foes of secularism, yes; but only because it is bad humanism. There was a good humanism; there can again be a good humanism. It is mainly a question of restoring the original dynamics upward and of curbing the dynamics downward. It is mainly a question of restoring the original comparative degree.

Do you remember how the fine old Roman phrase for literature originally went? *Litterae Humaniores* was the first reading; and the proper translation of those high, proud words should go: more humane letters. More humane, not merely humane letters. Letters that make men more human, not just human; surely not less than human, as has been the tendency in world literature since the dark poetry of Zola's naturalism. Letters that accentuate man's essential *human-ness*, to use a word Aquinas would have far preferred to mere *humanity*. The comparative degree is a step farther than the positive. It leads on to the superlative, which is participation in the Beatific Vision. But that superlative degree is a fulfillment in eternity. Our responsibility begins and ends with maintaining an integral Christian humanism in time.

And the paradox of it all is that, like patriotism, humanism is not enough. The quality of *more* humanism qualitatively, of *humanior* as opposed to mere *humanus*, is necessary in order to keep humanism at all. Dr. Toynbee, in his lecture, "Christianity and Civilization," puts it this way: "It is a paradoxical but profoundly true and important principle of life that the most likely way to reach a goal is to be aiming not at that goal itself but at some more ambitious goal beyond it." Otherwise, un-

adulterated humanism degenerates into inhumanism; and man, as Clive Staples Lewis has reminded us, ends by abolishing Man.

So our first problem is to put the comparative back in humanism; to repossess the City of Man now falling into the hands of the outer barbarians. We ought not scorn or traduce the goodly structure, but subtly invest it, until, in the words of François Mauriac, it is *penétre de grâce*, as it was in its beginnings under the men of the thirteenth century. The Bellocs and Chestertons and Hollises; the Hoffmans and Maynards and Maritains have already done yeoman work. We must be quick to recognize and accept as well the aid of those Christians and Jews not yet of Peter's fold, but of our party in basic attitude and idea. Like, for example, Professor C. S. Lewis at Oxford and Professor Harrold of Ohio State; like Toynbee; like Werfel; like Berdyaeff the Russian.

That is our first task. To put back *humanior* in place of *humanus*. The second is harder to understand and harder to achieve. I think I can suggest it by a figure taken from the first great novelistic synthesis of multiple human reality, the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Eventually we must get the Yeoman's knife back into its sheaf; but first let us meet the Yeoman.

And he was clad in cote and hood of grene.
A sheef of pecok arwes, bright and kene,
Under his belt he bar full thriftily,
(Wel koude he dresse his takel yemanly:
His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe)
And in his hand he baar a myghty bowe.

Upon his arm he baar a gay bracer,
And by his syde a swerde and a bokeler,
And on that oother syde a gay daggere
Harneised wel and sharp as point of spere;
A Christopher on his brest of silver sheene.
An horn he bar, the bawdryk was of grene;
A forster was he, soothly, as I gesse.

Let the Yeoman stand for our Catholic man of letters. The "gay daggere," his stylus, has been out of its sheath some four centuries, now, thrusting in post-Reformation fray; in riposte more often than assault, for we Catholics were neither the first nor the only party to pen controversy—indeed, it might be said that Voltaire really began it all, at least for the modern age. On the whole, the time is not yet ripe to slip it back. But that is what the creative writer craves in his heart of hearts: the serenity of art; the autonomy of the imagination; the right of private vision—as Chaucer and Shakespeare knew it, of course, not Knox and Calvin.

Here, ultimately, is the source of friction; the philosophic reason for Harry Sylvester's recent outburst in the *Atlantic*, and Mason Wade's more temperate complaint in the *Commonweal*. In their own way creative artists are *en rapport* with the infinite. In this sense they are like the mystics, and do we demand of the mystics that they write polemics or apologetics? Jacques Maritain knew whereof he spoke in his letter to poet Jean Cocteau:



All art goes spontaneously to God. To God not as man's end, not in the moral line, but to God as the universal principle of all form and clarity . . . Between the world of poetry and that of sainthood there exists an *analogical* relation . . . Poetry, too . . . abandons everything for its absolute. It wins to freedom through constraint . . . All this, however, at the service of a good that is not the Good. From all the masterpieces of the world one could not draw forth a single movement of charity.

Except, one might interject, in that fair field full of life-like folk who never lived, the novel; but then, M. Maritain is only speaking of poetry. The novel as a Communion of Sinners linked to one another by the primal sin and reading and writing in increase of *caritas* is another matter altogether.

Now I am not defending Mr. Sylvester's especial thesis—it might be remarked parenthetically, in his case, that France's Mauriac manages to make magnificent novelistic harvest out of the very tensions Sylvester complains of as inhibiting him. Nor am I advocating the old and foolish doctrine of art for art's sake; nor a twentieth-century ivory-tower quietism for the artist. But I think we ought not in justice overlook the peculiar conditions of his craft and inspiration. It was not for nothing that the ancients spoke of the artist as a lyre plucked by Apollo. In a very real sense he is a planchette receiving messages from elsewhere—they may be good or bad messages, granted; therein lies the rub—a barometer registering moral pressures, a weather vane blowing as the wind lists.

The Irish critic, Patrick Kavanagh, insists that few people "understand that the creative writer has in him a feminine passivity. He is not so much a positive thing as an instrument played upon by the vital consciousness of the people. There is a kind of amorality about him which accepts the force of life without question."

Put it another way: the artist gives to God fundamental extrinsic glory like a tiger or a stone, as well as extrinsic formal glory like a man. "God's spy," Shakespeare called him, whose destiny it is to ferret out the hidden wonder of creation. In the novelist's case, especially, is the artist the unwitting victim of his own century. In a very real sense he is obliged, willy-nilly, to record, to react; he is a pitifully exposed patella flying up again and again to the insistent taps of the little silver hammers of circumstance. Often the best he can do, in the way of positive reaction against an environment he does not like, is to satirize, as Waugh has done so well.

But satire, at its very highest, falls short of the Olympian serenity and sunny central sanity of the highest art.

Chaucer and Shakespeare were geniuses, but Chaucer and Shakespeare were lucky. Luckier than Graham Greene and Evelyn Waugh, for example. For they were born into an age of orthodoxy—yes, even Shakespeare, even Milton. Chaucer's pilgrims could eat and drink and crack anti-clerical jokes on their way to Canterbury, because they were all in fundamental agreement about what lay at journey's end. Even

Prince Hamlet was not yet sicklied o'er with the pale cast of skeptical thought which has lain greenly over philosophy since the seventeenth century. They knew where they were going and why. They were sinners, capable of grace, not hollow men, incapable of sin, like *Brideshead's* Rex Mottram. Man was not yet become like "a half-wit, that knows not of his sire." Even Scott and Dickens were luckier than Waugh or Greene.

And yet, in another sense, Waugh and Greene are granted an inestimable privilege. Perhaps no greater created mind ever walked the earth than Augustine of Hippo. Waugh and Greene, Lowell and Merton, Nims and Farren, are the interpreters of an Augustinian age come anew. Objection against their work is all too often, when one pursues it to ground, a distaste for the age we live in. But they did not make the age; and, according to their lights, they are showing the age its own unlovely visage.

The literary experience is a triune thing; and the audience is an integral part of the mystic trinity which consists of author, book and reader. Here is where the audience's responsibility begins. It must be mature enough to view the truth stripped of the candy chrysalis that surrounds it on movie screen and rotogravure section. Augustine's name was shortened to Austin in English. But an Augustinian insight is not the same as that of a Jane Austen; it is no less necessary and no less true, however.

The audience must also be ready to admit with Aquinas that reality cannot be made absolutely subject to geometric or philosophical theorem; or literary blueprint either, for that matter. There always remains a margin of mystery in cosmos and microcosmos alike that resolutely eludes Einsteinian physics, Jungian psychology, and the clearest-sighted cowed scholastic. Paradox, ambiguity, ambivalence is the law of reality. Literary critics still quarrel over the final meaning of *Utopia*; and More is a saint as well as the greatest of Catholic humanists. No one has yet plucked out the whole heart of Hamlet's mystery; and Shakespeare is the literary glory of Western civilization.

Finally, the Catholic audience must realize and accept what John Henry Newman put so well in his Irish University treatise on *Literature as the Life and Remains of Natural Man*: "It is a contradiction in terms to attempt a sinless literature of sinful man." It must beware of invoking unintelligently and indiscriminately the two-edged weapons of censorship and proscription. Otherwise, as Newman warns, you will have mulcted the Catholic reader of part of his rightful heritage; you will have refused him the masters of human thought, who would in some sense have educated him, because of their incidental corruption; you have shut up from him those whose thoughts strike home to our hearts, whose words are proverbs, whose names are indigenous to all the world. . . because the old Adam smelt rank in them. . ."

The age is already with us in many ways. Evil as our century is, it is far less apathetic toward things of the spirit than its static predecessor, the Victorian nineteenth. (In fact, we are more at odds over the body than the spirit nowadays. Honest carnality, on the one hand, and

the Incarnation, on the other, are what need affirming most.) Science has been moving toward the supernatural with more than supersonic speed. The physicist looks upon the universe now as a great thought; no longer as a chance concurrence of atoms; nor even as Paley's watch. There is once again a Protestant religious poetry as well as a Catholic. The drama has renewed its religious bases in Claudel and Ghéon; in T. S. Eliot and Dorothy Sayers. Science-fiction, to descend to a popular level of culture, utilizes *Genesis* instead of the turn-of-the-century recipe of political imperialism and planetary socialism; as H. G. Wells gives way to C. S. Lewis.

The process of de-secularizing society is already far advanced on the literary level. The barbarians, in their turn, now have to fight for their lives. Finally, if there is a tide in the affairs of men, there is also a groundswell which is at the same time an underground. To quote Dr. Toynbee for the last time:

The things that make good headlines attract our attention because they are on the surface of the stream of life, and they distract our attention from the slower, impalpable, imponderable movements that work below the surface and penetrate to the depths. But of course it is really these deeper, slower movements that, in the end, make history, and it is they that stand out huge in retrospect, when the sensational passing events have dwindled, in perspective, to their true proportions.

In 1848 Karl Marx was the groundswell and the underground, too. In 1948 he is become the tide. Who and what are the groundswell now? Can it be, as Belloc more than hints, Gilbert Keith Chesterton and the Catholic culture he incarnates? It is not impossible. Similar overturns in idea have occurred in history. Already More the martyr has displaced the Henrician tyrant who slew him in the affections of the world's historians, who are no longer so fond of the *Uebermensch* as they were between the day of Carlyle and the night of Nietzsche.

So we are already on the road to our first objective, that of making humanism *humanior*. And, when our first objective is attained, then the second also falls into place, and automatically. But, until that day, the time is not ripe for the serene, central Chaucerian synthesis; nor for its successor, the Shakespearean. Till then we must make do with the lesser magnificences of Baring and Mauriac and Waugh and—who knows—some yet not fully disclosed American artist who is already on the point of entering the charmed circle. Will it be J. F. Powers, one of the three judges of the literary contest whose results were announced at this very luncheon?

Meanwhile, and even after, for we will always need critical leaders, the urbane breadth of More and the intellectual depths of Newman remain our great exemplars. They tread the golden middle ground between liberty and license; between Puritanism and Saturnalia. They reconcile orthodoxy and nature; they join time and eternity. Out of this nettle, danger, they pluck the flower, safety; and its petals smell sweet in the nostrils of men, those odd creatures who stand midway between apes and angels, and to whose perilous category we have both the high honor and the curious fortune to belong.

Books

Testament to integrity

THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL

Macmillan, 2 vols. 1804p. \$10.50

The brief Foreword to these volumes offers no justification or explanation of the work. None is needed. In contrast to the spate of subjective "stories" coming from political and military figures, the *Memoirs* are a comprehensive, objective, almost judicial record of events of decisive historical importance. There is brief, unambiguous appraisal of the key men of the era, but all "personal interest" elements are subordinated to the huge task of detailing the events that confronted the nation during the nearly twelve years that Hull was Secretary of State, the decisions that were made, the influences and the reasons that shaped our policy.

Two years of characteristically patient effort on the part of an unwell man went into the making of the *Memoirs*. The assistance of Andrew Berding is acknowledged in the preparation of the material, which included State Department papers and advice of important, informed officials. The final form expresses Hull's ultimate revisions.

Much history was made between the London Monetary and Economic Conference and the formulation of the UN Charter. From June, 1933 when "I left for London with the highest hopes but arrived with empty hands," to November, 1944 when ill health forced his retirement, with the President still hoping that the "Father of the United Nations" would be able to preside over its first session, Cordell Hull's responsibilities were incessant and prodigious. He accepted and fulfilled them conscientiously, studiously, unflaggingly. His conception of international cooperation, political and economic, to which his study, political training and moral beliefs pledged him were opposed by substantial numbers of Americans in the crucial years of the late '30s. "It is due to say that those Americans who believed in isolation were well-meaning, patriotic citizens and thought they were pursuing this country's more or less traditional policies," Hull concedes. How inform a democracy, how interest the citizenry in the pressing issues so that it will support a consistent, responsible foreign policy were problems

that plagued his years of office. The problems are repeated today. They seem endemic.

Foreign policies, the Secretary believes, are not matters of domestic politics. The man who was elected chairman of the Democratic County Committee at the age of nineteen and who served as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sought the counsel of Republican leaders in fostering this "non-partisan" approach. Tariff reduction, the symbol of his Democratic creed, had a more difficult time. The reciprocal-trade agreements, however, stand as evidence of his sagacity and persistence.

Much has been made of Hull's mountaineer background to explain his hypersensitiveness to criticism, his relentless tracking of opponents until he obliterated them. The *Memoirs* report unabashedly his resentment of subordinates, principally Moley, Peek and Welles, who went over his head to Roosevelt. His dislike of Morgenthau, Wallace, Ickes and many of the New Dealers is unconcealed, and derived in part from their interference in foreign affairs, in part from his conviction—spoken candidly to Roosevelt—"you're going too fast and too far with certain of your domestic reforms."

But for the late President personally he had an ungrudging admiration and the satisfaction of sharing with his chief "in most respects the same philosophy in international relations." That Roosevelt had a flair for personal emissaries, that he chose not to include Hull in military discussions that had political consequences, that he lent an ear to the "catastrophic" Morgenthau plan for Germany, were bothers to be endured and, when possible, corrected.

The journalists who exploited the Tennessee origins of what they chose to consider Cordell Hull's "feuding" spirit might read with profit the one-sixth of the text that deals with his life before he became Secretary of State at the age of sixty-one—the boy born in a small log cabin in the foothills of the Cumberland Mountains, who saw his first newspaper when he was fifteen, delivered the Commencement address at his academy on the theme "Clothes Do Not Make the Man." The man was made of traditional American elements—religious-minded parents, diligent reading, and solemn discussions of the vital questions of government at little country stores. The lad who at the age of twelve, knew the names of three Americans who captured Major André, bought his first law

books, second-hand, with the wages as a raft hand on a five-day trip to Nashville. That sort of background entitles a man to sit in judgment and conclude: "We suffer from a striking lack of broad education and of devotion to the spirit of liberty and law, and we fail to maintain the deep interest and keen alertness necessary for the proper conduct of public affairs."

Regrettably, Cordell Hull chooses to report his conclusions at the time of the events he narrates, and contents himself with setting down general counsel for the conduct of foreign affairs rather than pass judgment on the developing crisis since he left office nearly four years ago. Conceivably, he believes the task is one to be faced by a later generation of Americans. For them and their descendants the wisdom and the integrity manifested in the *Memoirs* of Cordell Hull will be a precious guide.

EDWARD DUFF

Testament to duplicity

LENIN: A BIOGRAPHY

By David Shub. Doubleday. 438p. \$5

The present state of American-Soviet relations is, as never before, the concern of all intelligent and peace-loving Americans. What Russia will do next is the important question of the day. Will she continue the "cold war," or will she cooperate with the rest of the world?

A good answer to these queries may be found in the story of the founder of modern totalitarian Russia, Vladimir Ulianov, who went down in the annals of history as Lenin, one of the most ruthless and implacable dictators humanity has ever known. The book here reviewed is the personal and political story of the man whose life and political activity have marked a new era in modern history and have been contributing factors to the misery and tragedy of many millions of people today.

David Shub is a former Russian citizen and a member of the Social Democratic party, who was forced to leave Russia and who has been living in the United States for many years. At present he is an editorial writer on the *Jewish Daily Forward* in New York City. Mr. Shub knew Lenin personally in the years that preceded the revolution of 1905, and therefore undertook to write a thorough study of the world's outstanding revolutionary.

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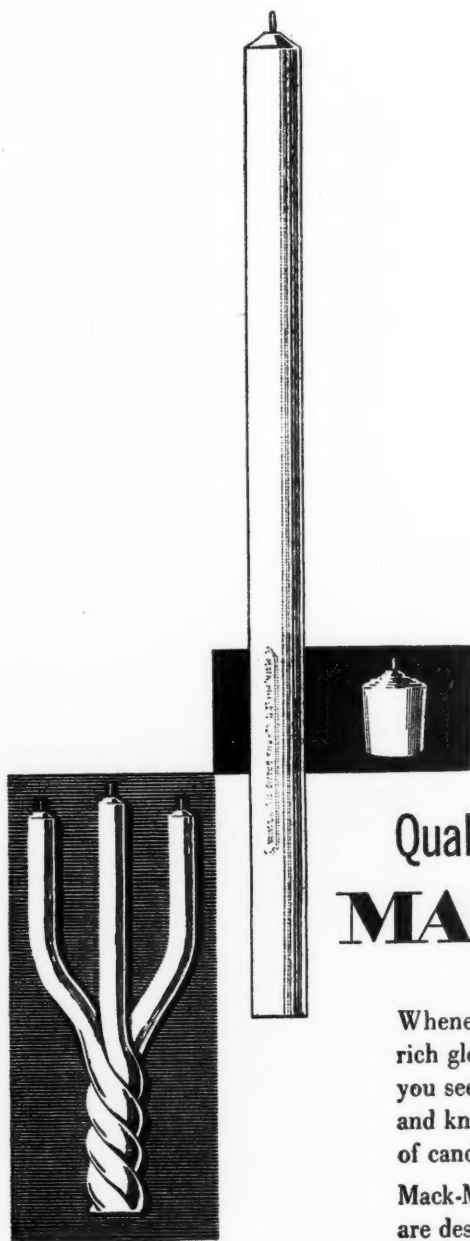
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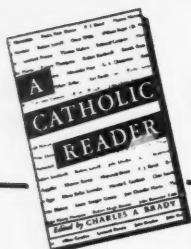
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AT ALL BOOKSTORES

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than the biography of a dictator. It is a story, based on countless memoirs, official reports, personal letters and memoranda, not only of Lenin's friends and close associates but of his enemies as well. The book contains a wealth of material hitherto unpublished and unreported.

The main emphasis of Mr. Shub's study is, of course, on the personality of Lenin. It describes how this unscrupulous man, forging a handful of fanatical subordinates, created the Soviet state, organized the Bolshevik Party and fathered a sinister international fifth column known as the Comintern. Lenin, as characterized by the author, was the powerful and at the same time ruthless brain that succeeded by cynical and brutal methods in organizing a new code of laws, enforcement of which is being carried out with merciless and inexorable rigidity even today.

Chronologically, the book deals with Lenin's early life, from his exile to Siberia through his escapades in Western capitals, to his ultimate triumph, the establishment of the "proletarian" and despotic Soviet power. Some of Lenin's characteristics are worth remembering, because his able successor, Stalin, not infrequently refers to Lenin as the guiding light and inspiration for the present policies of Soviet Russia. Lenin above all, points out the author, concentrated his energies on power—or, as the Russians call it, *vlast*. Never and on no occasion did he tolerate any opposition to his strategy and tactics. Opposition was immediately labeled "treason" and dealt with accordingly. To attain power, Lenin was never concerned with what was moral or immoral so long as his goal was achieved. Consequently, he did not hesitate to use murder, robbery, fraud and mass terror as instruments of his political strategy.

Following the well-known revolutionary dogma that the end justifies the means, Lenin very often changed his mind and reversed his policies without explaining even to his closest lieutenants his reasons for such actions. Aiming at world revolution as his ultimate goal, he propagated a policy of violence and illegal methods, of lying and of the use of all sorts of ruses and chicanery in order to attain communist objectives. It was Lenin who originally invented the ill-famed phrase: "There are no morals in politics; there is only expediency." After reading Mr. Shub's *Lenin*, the Soviet tactics of Molotov, Vishinsky and Gromyko in the United Nations are

clearly understandable. After all, they are faithful disciples of the great master who had nothing but hatred and contempt for the world in which we live.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

Testament to doomsday

THE END

By Hugh Venning. Desmond & Stapleton. 303p. \$3

In the year 2045, says this "projection, not prophecy," the Emperor of the Romans (called "666") rules the world from his un-holy city, Jerusalem has long since been wiped off the map by his Roman legionaries and their liquid fire, the three remaining Catholic countries, Ireland, Poland and French Canada, are marked for obliteration (which comes in the course of the story), and England, under a good pagan Prime Minister gets its back up and disobeys 666's command that the nations adore him. Well, not all of England, for, being the one country in the world which still preserves at least the trappings of democracy, a vote is taken, and four per cent of the people vote to take 666 as God. This group is evacuated to a Channel island, leaving the stubborn defiers of anti-Christ on the embattled home island, awaiting the horrid doom that will surely engulf them.

But it doesn't. For Michael of the shining sword leads his hosts from Heaven's ramparts, 666 and his legions are destroyed in an eye-twinkle, St. Peter's and Rome are purified, the Pope flies from his hiding place to England, the English flock to him for baptism, and the Son of Man appears in the heavens and the world ends.

Throughout the story moves the figure of Mr. Emmanuel, an Easterner with a little band of disciples, whose life parallels in many facets that of Christ. He attracts children, and his good sense and intimate nearness to God win many of the nobly pagan English back to supernatural faith.

This tale will certainly send older readers searching in the attic or bookcases for Robert Hugh Benson's classic *Lord of the World*. The similarity is too open to be missed, and the comparison is not much in Mr. Venning's disfavor. His book has one element, and a welcome one, that Benson's lacked—a nice sense of humor, and if you imagine that the trumpet of doom cannot be humorously discussed without poor taste, this engaging tale will disabuse you. There are many quaint devices used to stress throughout the naturalness (in one

sense) of the faith, and the perversion of nature that Godlessness is; for example, a simple operation has been perfected by which everybody can be relieved of the necessity of sleeping, eating and drinking; only the three Catholic nations still eat, sleep and drink.

The tale is very British and perhaps a little insular, but it is good fun, and more than that, it is a catalyst for some rather prayerful thought.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

STRANGER IN THE EARTH: The Story of a Search

By Thomas Sugrue. Holt. 371p. \$4.

Thomas Sugrue is a remarkable man. He has courage, intelligence, sensitivity and exceptional gifts as a writer. His book is one of the most absorbing modern autobiographies that this reviewer has read in years.

Most of it is dialog between the author and an imaginary professor, a dialog carried on while Sugrue lies in a coffin-like contraption contrived to send his temperature up to 107° and thus kill off the bugs that have made a cripple of him. While he reviews his childhood, his college days and his years as a reporter, while he reflects upon modern man, his life and culture, the Professor—really the round face of the clock at which Sugrue stares—with genial cynicism and considerable humor, comments, criticizes and cuts the author down to size.

What gives the book exceptional value is its psychological insights, some profound and, even the least of them, clever.

One of the functions of first-rate literature, it has been said, is to make the reader reflect. This autobiography serves that purpose admirably. Whether the author is scolding the Church or delivering *obiter dicta* upon clairvoyance, extrasensory perception, journalism or Jung's psychology, his observations make one reflect even when one disagrees. His relationship with the Church may not be quite orthodox—it is hard to tell; his apparent faith in clairvoyance may be absurd; his responses on a visit to the Holy Land may be irreverent to some; his attempts to explain love and life and the universe may, at times, impel the reader, as they did the Professor, to call the author immature, romantic and foolish, to exclaim as did the Professor—Sugrue's alter ego, remember—"Bah!"

That the author, however, after a long and rather involved bit of pseudo-mysticism on the nature of romantic

love, can have his Professor remark with affectionate contempt, "a neat package of cosmic conniving," is typical and serves as a sign that Sugrue does not take everything he says too seriously himself. The self-centeredness and pompous opinionating of so many current autobiographies are thus relieved by humor and self-criticism. The author is his own Sancho Panza.

One must not neglect Joseph, either. He symbolizes another aspect of Sugrue's personality. Joseph is the mystic, the searcher after God. Sugrue is whole and alive only when he can communicate with this figure of his own subconscious. When Joseph is gone, that is, when the author suppresses him and devotes himself to merely earning a living, adjusting to the external environment and such dull activities, then Sugrue falls ill. There is no health in him. It is Joseph who saves him from death when the terrible illness strikes.

If this all sounds fantastic, it is not the book's fault. It is hard to do justice to this really significant achievement in a review. The reader, when he closes *Stranger in the Earth*, must be a sadder and wiser man. This is so, even if the book's reflections are not all sound, for Sugrue is modern man in search of God. He has only scorn for those who, through smugness or laziness, will not become aware, including run-of-the-mill Catholics. If, in this process of becoming aware, this modern man makes mistakes and occasionally gets lost, who is to throw the first stone?

Consider this: "The Church still proselytes admirably among the poor and simple. It is even successful with intellectuals who are on the edge of the superconscious, who suddenly sense by their own psyche that they are almost out of the wilderness. But the skill and the cunning, the art and the genius, to move the great inert middle mass, is lost."

The reader may object to remarks like this; he may say that they are half-truths, pseudo-profundities; he may bridle at a Jungian term like *superconscious*, but he is inevitably spurred to think.



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HUBERT N. HART

ANOTHER YEAR

By R. C. Sherriff. Macmillan. 265p. \$3.50.

This latest novel by the author of the famous war play, *Journey's End*, is not original in its general theme. It is the story of an English clergyman, Mr. Matthews, who leaves his country parish in Little Stanton, where he and his family are well established and where his work is running smoothly, to take up a difficult post in the slums of London. His own zeal prompted the change. For years he had dreamed and talked about doing this, but not until he has reached his fifty-seventh year does he make the final decision and carry it through.

The new parish presents many problems, and Mr. Matthews makes little headway. Ruth, his wife, is about his only source of human encouragement. The story runs along interestingly enough as he strives to break down the opposition of his church council and to help people who have no desire for his help.

All this has been done before in other novels. But Mr. Sherriff has been writing scripts for successful movies, such as *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* and *The Four Feathers*, and almost suddenly he quickens the pace of the novel. Interest is intensified. No longer is this the ordinary story of a clergyman struggling to do the good he sees must be done. The author applies the Hollywood touch, and *Another Year* steps out of its groove to become a different and delightful story.

Mr. Matthews is very zealous and very human. This is without a doubt his story. Throughout its telling he is on the scene. Every incident and every other character is introduced only as it concerns him. The reader comes to know him thoroughly. He has his serious problems and his trivial worries. Like most of us he is slow in making the right decisions, but his wife is always ready to give him the little push he needs and then step aside and have him carry through. Both are charming characters.

Mr. Sherriff is a clever writer. In his newest book he has given us a highly interesting and wholesome story.

HUGH SMITH

The Word

PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

13. *The only Lord.* I have always found some difficulty in reconciling the bare facts of my existence with the so-called duty of imitating Our Lord Jesus Christ. How, for instance, can an old person imitate somebody who, in spite of what St. Irenaeus says, died before He was forty? How can Our Lord be the perfect model, let us say, of a little girl, or even a plain writer? I remember an old Hindu scholar who once said to me: I am ready to swallow your Catholic creed, wholesale, without flinching, if you scratch out this little word "*unum*," the "only" Lord. Why "only"? In the matter of models there is no room for monopolies.

You are perfectly right in your conclusions; but entirely wrong in your premise; and since the whole matter is of paramount importance, theology may perhaps afford some light.

Go on with your light. I wonder what we shall discover.

The creed does not speak of the only model, but of the only Master; and there is a far cry between the two. A model is set there at my disposal; but I am at the disposal of my Master. A model is by nature something passive, which I may use or dismiss at will. A master is by nature somebody active, who uses or dismisses me at will. There is no conceivable loyalty toward a model; it is just a pattern; but a master implies a correlative duty of loyalty. You cannot encroach on the rights of a model, because it has none; but when you encroach on the rights of a master, you are guilty of disobedience, betrayal, felony. When the work is done, we discard the model, but ousting the master is an act of rebellion.

Now, with all the loose thinking which under the name of liberal theology became common currency in the last fifty years, even Christians began to believe that Jesus Christ was a master only because He was a model. His rule was merely His example. He had done good, had been kind, loving, steadfast, sincere. Was that not enough to gain approval and to gather disciples around Him? The Master was by and by reduced to a mere Teacher, and the Teacher to a fair model.

Now it is a fact, according to our faith, that Christ is not a master because He is a model, but, contrariwise, He is a model because He is a master.

His authority is not the authority of a splendid pattern, which I can imitate, but that of a master, which I cannot shake off. He is the only Lord, because He is God; and if you drop the word "only," you relapse into rank polytheism.

Yes, but how can I "imitate" this only Lord? Is that not the highest pitch of human pride and folly?

Not at all. To imitate God is not to put oneself on the same level as God. Trespassing is no perfection and no duty. I will perform my task, mine and mine only, since it is the will of my Lord.

But there is no imitation of Our Lord in that.

How can you say this? Don't you see that, on the contrary, it is the most perfect form of imitation. Exactly what our old doctors in philosophy called "the analogy of proportion." A fin can imitate a wing, not by growing feathers and flapping in the air, but because it performs its task in the water as perfectly as the wing performs in the air. Nobody asks you to drop your own self in order to don the nature of Christ; but between what He Himself did to comply with the will of the Father, and what you do, in accordance with the same will, is not perhaps a close similarity possible? That is the imitation of Christ, and nothing else.

PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

Films

THE PIRATE belongs to that alternately extolled and derided species, the pure entertainment film. The action takes place sometime in the past on a non-existent West Indian island where every day is a holiday which the population celebrates by dancing and singing to Cole Porter tunes, where there are no discernible sociological problems and where the lavish costumes and architecture are Latin American in the Carmen Miranda tradition. This never-never land setting has the added advantage of suspending the mundane dramatic law which demands that the actions of characters have a proportional relationship to the events which caused them. Against such a background it is possible to view with equanimity the postured convolutions of a musical-comedy plot. Front and center are: a young girl (Judy Garland), whose romantic ideal is the long vanished pirate, Macoco, whom she has never seen; a strol-

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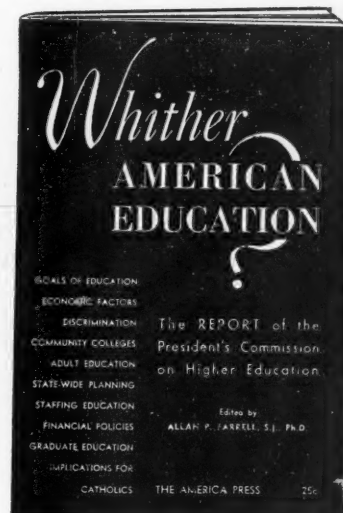
ling player (Gene Kelly), who poses as the pirate to win her love; and the real Macoco (Walter Slezak), by this time a model of paunchy respectability, betrothed to the girl by family arrangement and eager to dispose of his rival without revealing his past. Before the villain is exposed and true love triumphs, the two stars have had ample opportunity to display their unique talent for (respectively) singing in the twentieth-century manner and executing spectacular dance acrobatics. The intervening footage also reveals that their uncomplicated personalities cause the story to sag where it should sparkle. *Adults* will find this elaborate, uncerebral, and enhanced by Technicolor of unsurpassed excellence. (MGM)

BERLIN EXPRESS. An entire Hollywood cast and crew went to Europe to film this parable about postwar international cooperation. Authentic back-grounds give the story enormous initial impetus, which is carried forward by a set of characters functioning—up to a certain point—on an intelligent level, and by a theme which is a variation on the always dependable Grand Hotel motif. The prioritized travelers on the Paris to Berlin sleeper represent various nations, and comport themselves with distant politeness tinged with suspicion. A much closer association is forced upon them when a well-placed time bomb eliminates one of their number, and they are held in Frankfurt for investigation. When it is established that the intended victim, a “good” German with a plan for re-educating his countrymen, escaped assassination and has subsequently been kidnaped by some die-hard Nazis, the film abruptly departs from its realistic outlook. The group joins forces on a Don Quixote expedition to the rescue and succeeds where the police would have failed. This is a disappointing, *family* thriller with a pronounced tendency towards split personality. Merle Oberon, Robert Ryan and Paul Lukas are featured. (RKO)

UP IN CENTRAL PARK. The distinguishing features of this musical when it appeared on Broadway a few seasons ago were its Currier and Ives ballet and its multitude of singable tunes by Sig-mund Romberg. In its screen version the ballet is dragged in by main force, and the songs have dwindled to three—which is unaccountable considering that the talents of stars Deanna Durbin and Dick Haymes are so largely vocal. The story is concerned with an Irish immi-grant and his daughter who, in their

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Edited by
ALLAN P. FARRELL, S.J.



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political unawareness, are enmeshed in the scheming of the Tweed gang, and with a crusading New York Times reporter who manages, between attempts to send the city bosses to jail, successfully to pursue the young colleen. William Marcy Tweed, by all accounts a rotund man, has stretched out into Vincent Price; and the picture as a whole seems similarly long and thin. *Adults*, will probably find this a thorough bore. (Universal-International)

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Theatre

INSIDE U.S.A. Adhering to a lifelong practice of never reading a book of more than 214 pages, I remain innocent of first-hand knowledge of the contents of such incredibly popular best sellers as *Anthony Adverse*, *Gone with the Wind*, the Kinsey Report and John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.* The Gunther tome, I gather, is a journal of the adventures of Beatrice Lillie in such cultural centers as Pittsburgh, New Orleans and Chillicothe, Ohio. A case history of Jack Haley's insomnia in a Miami Beach hotel is also included in the volume, which also contains Thelma Carpenter's story of a colored girl's loneliness at Churchill Downs while her boy friend spends all his time at the races, leaving her a turf widow for the duration. Here is also an interesting chapter on John Tyers' second wedding in Wyoming.

If Mr. Gunther's book described other phases of life in this good land of ours, or sketched profiles of other representative citizens, only a few of them are mentioned in the revue of the same title that is selling standing room in *The Century*. Naively assuming that the revue reflects the spirit of the book, since Herb Shriner, a fellow from Indiana, carries a copy under his arm while delivering his monolog, I take it for granted that the unmentioned material is of minor importance. Miss Lillie, Mr. Gunther's heroine, is English, and she discovers that one can find an abundance of fun inside U.S.A.; while Mr. Haley, a native, has long been aware of the fact, since he has devoted most of his life to exploiting his country's sources of humor. Theatregoers who are lucky enough to get into *The Century* before Christmas will catch Miss Lillie and Mr. Haley in the act of contributing another hundred laughs to the nation's merriment.

Lyrics and music for the production were written by Howard Dietz and Arthur Swartz, and the latter is the producer. The sketches were produced by the sweat of Arnold Auerbach, Moss Hart and Arnold B. Horwitt; the dances and musical numbers were staged by Helen Tamiris; Robert H. Gordon directed, and the sets were designed by Lemuel Ayers. Here is a galaxy of expert craftsmen, and the result of their coordinated skills is a production that is opulent, colorful, humorous and in good taste; but after the opening

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number, which is sung by the entire company, one is haunted by the feeling that the revue is not as original as it might be.

The performers, especially Miss Lillie and Mr. Haley, the stars, contribute a great deal more to the success of the show than the creative artists. Miss Lillie is a comedienne with a versatile daintiness that projects the humor of a line or situation by suggestion rather than expression, and few performers could handle the Pittsburgh sketch, a gentle satire of the steel city striving for culture, as capably as she does. In the Massachusetts Mermaid and Chillicothe sketches, and perhaps in the New Orleans scene, Miss Lillie is slightly uninhibited but in a subtle way that will escape blunt perceptions. Mr. Haley is at his mischievous best in "School for Waiters" and "Leave My Pulse Alone." In the latter, the most topical sketch in the revue, poll-takers, employed by Dr. Gallup and other public-opinion diagnosticians, make the comedian miserable by climbing in windows, appearing from under rugs and crawling out of the woodwork. Mr. Haley and Miss Lillie are a hilarious pair in a rollicking country dance in Wisconsin.

Inside U.S.A. is replete with good music, rendered by good voices; the dances are spirited, and it is a riot of fun. It may be gratuitous to wish that the sketches were less sophisticated and more mature. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Parade

SOUNDING ON THE EARS OF THE week, as it passed into history, was the roar of many voices expressing diverse viewpoints. . . . Sentiments concerned with eating were vocalized. . . . At the Kentucky races, the voice of a sports editor was heard commenting on a high-priced luncheon: "Never has so much chicken salad been indebted to so few chickens." . . . Audible throughout Japan was the Prime Minister's voice broadcasting to children a plea for better table manners. "In eating rice and noodles," the voice asserted, "you make such noises your next-door neighbors can hear you." . . . The week's voices were not concerned exclusively with eating problems. Definite attitudes towards other issues were also taken. . . . When a California gopher snake slithered across a busy Hollywood intersec-

tion and snarled traffic, a police officer declared: "We've got to curb this sort of thing." . . . Other types of attitudes were observed. . . . Facing a New York jury, a man arrested for will forgery stated: "I wouldn't forge a will without my lawyer's advice." . . . Parliamentary voices were raised. . . . In Ottawa, a law clerk suggested that members of Parliament would give shorter speeches if forced to stand on only one foot while they talked. Rejecting the suggestion, members retorted: "Many civil servants would get through more work if they did it all standing on their heads." . . . Voices ascended over Washington. . . . In Congress, a Representative delivered a speech which in its entirety ran as follows: "Mr. Speaker, I hope somebody will save this country from some of the people in it who are trying to save the world." . . . Foreign vocal chords were active. . . . Members of a Czechoslovakian tennis team related: "We spent three weeks in Russia playing tennis exhibitions. We were under guard day and night, secret police even sleeping outside the door of our quarters. Before each match we were told how long it would last and who would win. Naturally, we obeyed orders." . . . Italian taxi men were articulate. . . . Upon debarking in New York, a lady disclosed she had a personal message from an English-speaking Naples cabbie to President Truman. The message was: "Tell him we in Italy are going to get rid of our Communists before you do in America."

Swelling the week's chorus were the voices of children. . . . In Detroit, a little girl, eight years old, involved in a custody contest between her divorced parents, whispered in the judge's ear: "I loves all my daddies and mamas." . . . On all sides, children were trying to hold on to their parents. . . . Entering a St. Louis court, three children, aged twelve, ten and six, begged the judge not to give their parents a divorce. . . . "We love them both," they told the judge. . . . In Corning, N. Y., a ten-year-old boy approached the police chief, asked: "Who gets me if my mother and father get divorced?" Explaining that his parents were already separated, he added: "I'm tired of being shoved around." . . . The little children, up and down the land, are being shoved around by their own parents. . . . There is a way to stop this shoving around of tiny, helpless victims—"Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder."

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Correspondence

The McCollum case

EDITOR: Father Hartnett states, at two separate points in his article on the McCollum case (AMERICA, April 24) that no Federal question was raised in the lower courts.

Examining the accuracy of this statement, I find the following in the opinion of Justice Black: "... petitioner charged that this ... program violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution. ... The answer [of the Board of Education] denied that this program ... violated ... the Federal Constitution." Thus, it appears that the Federal question was raised by the original pleadings. Justice Black said further: "A third ground for the motion [by the Board of Education to dismiss the appeal to the Supreme Court] is that the appellant failed properly to present in the State Supreme Court her challenge that the State program violated the Federal Constitution. But in view of the express ruling of both State courts on this question, the argument cannot be successfully maintained."

Reference to the opinion of the Supreme Court of Illinois, reported in 396 Ill. 14. 71 NE 2d 161, clearly shows that the Federal question was raised and decided there.

FRANCIS J. AMER

Rocky River, O.

EDITOR: Instead of saying that no Federal question had been raised in the lower courts in the McCollum case, I should have said that no question of the alleged infringement of the prohibition of establishing a religion had been raised. Counsel for Mrs. McCollum did assert that the released-time system of religion instruction used in Champaign violated the freedom-of-religion clause of the First Amendment, made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth Amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court. No substantial evidence was adduced to show that any restriction on religious freedom was involved, however. But since the assertion was made, I should not have said that no Federal question had been raised.

What is perfectly true is that the Federal issue on which the case was decided in her favor by the Supreme Court, namely, the alleged infringement of the establishment-of-religion clause,

was not raised in the lower courts. This was an afterthought in the wake of the Everson case.

Mr. Justice Jackson, in his opinion, expressed strong doubts about the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, since he found no substantial evidence that Mrs. McCollum had a case on either score. For some reason he deferred to the judgment of the majority on the question of jurisdiction, and having made this concession, against his better judgment, he concurred in finding the Champaign system a violation of the establishment-of-religion clause.

I am sorry not to have cleared up this point in the original article.

As for Mr. Justice Black, all one can say is that he made no effort to refute the contentions of Mr. Justice Jackson but simply waved them aside with a general reference to the "express rulings" of both lower courts finding no violation of the Federal Constitution. This reference may suffice to indicate that a Federal question had been raised, but it hardly suffices to establish the validity of Federal jurisdiction.

When Madison proposed the First Amendment in Congress, he modified the prohibition of an establishment of religion by speaking of a "national" religion. Gerry objected on the score that the word "national" implied that we had a national Government. The very first question decided in the Constitutional Convention (which both men had attended) was "that a national government ought to be established. . . ." The vote in favor was six States to one. But Madison, instead of answering Gerry by replying, "Of course we have a national Government," crawled by agreeing to withdraw the word "national" from the First Amendment. If he had left it there, it is hard to see how the Supreme Court could consider any action of a State as an establishment of a national religion. The present Court has paid practically no attention at all to the real meaning of the First Amendment. If it did, it would be left with the freedom-of-religion clause, since a State can abridge that freedom. But the Court did not contend that Illinois had abridged it in the contested Champaign program.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT, S.J.
Detroit, Michigan.

Social security

EDITOR: In his article, "Who are opposed to social security?" (issue of May 15) Father Becker correctly referred to *Integrity* magazine, of which I am co-editor, as representative of a school of Catholic thought which displays little or no enthusiasm for social security. Substantially, he stated our case accurately.

Social security (that is, governmental patrimony, dole, welfare, relief, compensation or insurance, regulated and administered by the State or Federal Government) is in the nature of an economic "crutch." To deny crutches to the lame would not be to the common good in any case. Consequently, if and when material aid is needed immediately, and it is not immediately forthcoming from neighbors, relatives, labor unions, parishes or social groups, it must be supplied by the Government.

It must be recognized, however, that government steps in here only in default of those intimate institutions. A prolonged dependance on impersonal government bureaus encourages irresponsibility and flagrant disregard of social justice on the part of the lesser communities. When, finally, the machinery of succor is perpetuated by law, then servility eventually becomes a political fact.

Since we as Catholics are concerned about material goods only as means to disposing men to virtue or to vice, it would be misplaced zeal to seek the alleviation of material distress with instruments which of themselves would generate a climate of irresponsibility unfavorable to Christian virtue.

With this criticism of social security we are neither throwing up our hands nor sitting on them. We are advocating and creating social institutions oriented to the common good, in which the care of the weak and deprived is a normal function. This is an orientation native to family life and generally found in religious orders. Many of the better labor unions take care of their own. Admittedly, a return to the idealism of communal, reciprocal charity on the part of neighbors and fellow workers is a naive suggestion in face of ingrained individualism and mass unemployment. It is just such naïveté or, preferably, faith, that is needed before we can throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the work of Christian restoration.

We are bound together by charity, and charity grows upon need. Passing the buck to the Government will only prolong the present adolescence of Christian virtue.

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